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REFLECTIONS

ON

Mr *Burchet's*

MEMOIRS.

OR,

Remarks on his Account

OF

Captain *Wilmot's*

EXPEDITION

TO THE

*WEST-INDIES.*

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By Coll. *Luke Lillingston*, Commander in  
Chief of the Land Forces in that Expedition.

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L O N D O N,

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T O

His Royal Highness,  
**GEORGE,**  
Hereditary Prince of *Denmark,*  
Duke of *Cumberland,*  
Lord High Admiral of *England, &c.*

**A**S Princes are particularly entitled to the Appeals of Truth, so 'tis the Peculiarity of your Royal Highness to delight in being undeceived; a Virtue not many Princes are bless'd with.

As every Subject's Duty is a Debt to their Country, so the exact Accounts of their Performances are a Debt to the Prince.

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

I am humbly paying this Debt to your Royal Highness, at the same time that I am doing my self Justice, against the Relation of a partial Historian.

Were I not sure, beyond possibility of Contradiction, that this Account is backt with irresistible Truth, I could not have the Assurance of putting your Royal Name in the Front of it, and I beseech your Highness to afford it your Royal Patronage, so far only, and no farther, as it is sustain'd with Truth, and vouch'd by positive Demonstration.

And while this Truth is so much injur'd, as to claim your Royal Protection, I make no question but your native Goodness will incline you to pardon me the Freedom of this Dedication.

Your Royal Highness will see here, what has been done, and by whom, in an Action which comes under your immediate Cognizance, and of which,  
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*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

I question not, you have seen a very different Account.

If ever your Royal Wisdom shall incline you to enquire into the Conduct of the Expedition here treated of, I doubt not, but you will find I have rather contracted than enlarged the black Circumstances of Actions hitherto conceal'd; my proper Business not being to reflect on any particular person's behaviour, *any farther* than I am obliged to it, in my own just Vindication.

And as every man owes a just defence of his Actions to his own Integrity, so I have thought my self more particularly concern'd to clear my self in this point, that I might not reproach the justice of his late Majesty, in the careful Provision made for me, *till he required my service*; nor her Majesty's Bounty, in graciously continuing that Favour, during my being out of Employment.

*That*

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

*That God would continue her Majesty,  
and your Royal Highness, in the com-  
pleat Enjoyment of all that Felicity  
your Royal Hearts can desire, is the  
Humble Prayer of*

*May it please Your Royal Highness,*

*Your Most Obedient Devoted  
Humble Servant,*

**Luke Lillingston.**



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THE  
PREFACE  
TO THE  
READER.

**T**HO' Writing of Books is something remote to the Profession of a Souldier, yet as the World has found out new ways of offending us, viz. by Pen and Ink, instead of other Weapons, it becomes us to be able by all sorts of Arms to Defend our selves.

Tho' I had a great deal of reason to resent the ill treatment I met with in Captain Wilmot's Expedition; tho' I knew that a great many honest Gentlemen were abus'd with me; and tho' I was satisfied that the same ill Practices which I had reason to complain of, were the immediate Causes of the Miscarriage of that Expedition; and that at the same time that I was ill used, the Government suffer'd in my Injury, the Design Miscarry'd, the Charge and Expence of the Voyage was Lost, the Nation Dishonour'd, and the Enemies encourag'd



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to ridicule all our attempts ; yet Captain Wilmot being Dead, and consequently not able to answer for himself, I thought, to reflect on a man who was gone to answer his Mismanagements in another World lookt a little ungenerous, and therefore I chose to sit down and bear the blame of Miscarriages which I had no hand in, rather than assault the Memory of a Dead Man.

But finding the Misfortune of being in a Miscarry'd Expedition was not sufficient Mortification, but some people were industrious to lay all the Errors at my door, and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Army concern'd ; and that the friends of the Deceas'd Capt. Wilmot were not content with his having injur'd us all in the grossest manner, but as if they would anticipate our just complaint by crying out first ; they present to the World a most scandalous false account of the whole Action, insinuating the defect of Duty in the Souldiers as the reason of that Miscarriage, which was wholly not the fault only, but the original contrivance and resolution of Captain Wilmot. This I find effectually perform'd in a late Book, Entituled Memoirs of Transactions at Sea, written by Mr Burchet, Secretary of the Admiralty.

Had Capt. Wilmot been alive, I should not have fail'd to have done my self Justice, and all those Gentlemen who serv'd with me in this Expedition, by calling him to such an account as the Laws of England would have directed,  
but

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but since 'tis otherwise, and I am now oblig'd in my own defence to reflect on him, I have endeavour'd to do it with as little reproach to his Memory, as the Case will admit of.

If the matter of Fact obliges me to say something very ill of him, I can only say his Friends ought to thank Mr Burchet, who undertaking the part of a Historian, which I perceive he is but indifferently qualified for, has forc'd me to this method, by giving himself the liberty to publish such particulars of the Voyage of Captain Wilmot, as I must say he can have no good authority for.

Possibly Mr Burchet may have been impos'd upon in the advices he receiv'd of these Actions, and may have this to say in that case, that he has given such an account as he receiv'd from the Persons who were concern'd in the Voyage, and were present in the Action; whether this ought to be allow'd for a good excuse in a Historian or no, I won't determine; but to me it seems, that if an Historian writes a falsity without any caution to his Reader, as a thing which he came by his information of in such or such a manner, he then takes the thing upon his own credit, makes the Fraud his own, and makes himself accountable for the truth of it.

Had Mr Burchet said that he was thus and thus inform'd, or had he given the World any authentick Voucher for the testification of what he has so wrote, I mean as to Truth of Fact, or quoted and referr'd to his Authors, I shou'd have

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have thought he had more regularly acted the part of a Historian; but since he has given a positive account of things, without any provisory caution as aforesaid, I cannot help saying, that the Truth of Fact here fairly represented, being compar'd with what he has related, will let the World see they have been imposed upon, and we that were Actors highly injur'd.

And tho Mr Burchet's Reputation as a Historian, may seem to suffer in this Case, yet he cannot but excuse us, who have no farther expos'd his management in it, than the necessary vindication of our Conduct and Fidelity hath oblig'd us to.

'Tis true, 'tis an error to be impos'd upon, but it rather seems a Misfortune than a Crime, and therefore tho Mr Burchet is not suppos'd to have willingly misrepresented the Account, with a design to excuse one Party and reflect upon the other, yet as he has really done it, whether willingly or no, he can never be clear'd from too much credulity in taking a Story upon Trust, and committing it to posterity with an absolute sanction of Truth, and setting his name to the Book.

This has given him the property of every Story, and if any person is injur'd in it, he is injur'd by Mr Burchet, because he has sent the Tale into the World with his Pass, he has vouch'd for the Truth, and pawn'd his own Reputation upon that head.

And

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And yet tho the following relation may serve for an answer to the accounts given by Mr Burchet, and was wrote for that end, yet there are several very advantageous Articles in it of equal moment.

1. The Reputation of abundance of persons concerned will be clear'd up to the World, who are grossly injur'd by Mr Burchet's relation; I cannot but think, had Mr Burchet considered, that as the Accounts he has related were but very modern, and but from one side, viz. the Seamen; had he, I say, consider'd the consequence of writing Truth, he must have remember'd that there were several Gentlemen in being, who were in the whole Action, and present at every Part and Circumstance; and it seems to me a little neglect of Truth, that he should never enquire of any of us concerning the matter.

It had been much more a pleasant part to me to have shewn Mr Burchet all the original Papers, Orders, Resolutions of the Councils of War and the like, that an exact and impartial Journal of every Action might have been transmitted to posterity, and I think I should not only not have deny'd it, had Mr Burchet thought it worth while to have askt it, but I should have been very well pleas'd to have let the World see the particulars, having, I thank God, acted no part in the whole Expedition, but what I thought for the King's Majesties Service, nor no part with so ill Conduct as to have



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*have any reason to be ashamed of my behaviour.*

2. *The World, by comparing this Relation with Mr Burchet's, may see how they are abus'd and impos'd upon by the hasty opinions, and rash conclusions of Authors, in whose power 'tis with the dash of a Pen to misrepresent the actions of Men, to blast the reputation of the best Undertakings, and gloss over the infirmities and mistakes of the worst.*

*It may be objected here, How do we know that this account is any more true than Mr Burchet's? his may be true and this false, for this is only the account of one Party? To this I answer, that is always more likely to be truth which appeals to the Light, and seeks a demonstration, than that which comes alone, and the Name of the person who gave the relation conceal'd. The following account has all the Orders, Results of Councils, References to Journals, Affidavits, &c. Copied into it for the proof of the Fact, and the Originals are ready to be produc'd to the satisfaction of every person that doubts the truth of what I have set down, and here are a Multitude of living Witnesses, able to justify the Truth; and as I am very certain, that whatever I have wrote, is every Word, and in every Action of it literally and positively true, so I shall be glad to give any person the Satisfaction of showing the Originals of any Paper inserted in this Book, in order to maintain the Reputation of the rest.*

*Had*



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Had Mr Burchet in his Remarks on these things, among his Transactions at Sea, given us with the same Freedom, the Originals or other Papers, from whence he collected these particulars, it might possibly appear, that some Transactions on Shore, have been found needful to make the Transactions at Sea appear in so different a Light from the Truth.

I confess, to me it seems something strange, how any particulars could be brought to Mr Burchet, authentick enough for a Man of his Judgment to depend upon, without any original Authorities.

From whence I cannot but draw this Consequence, and in this I am sure I do him no wrong, either that Mr Burchet was something careless of the Reputation of his Book, and consequently of his own, as an Author, or else that he has been very much impos'd upon.

It is indifferent to me, which of these two Conclusions he is willing should be made, and perhaps both of them may be just; however as the true Relation is a sufficient Satyr on the false, I shall content my self with sometimes observing the difference, without all the necessary Reflections which the matter deserves, and which, considering how ill I am treated by him, I have just reason for.

Only I cannot forbear observing, that Mr Burchet has not the Misfortune to have Committed here and there a mistake, or so, as most Authors are obliged to do; but, whether by his  
Neg-

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Negligence, Ignorance or Wilfulness, I know not, has the particular misfortune not to have one Circumstance of his whole Account be true; and if proving this happens to be too much a Mortification to him, I am sorry I am oblig'd to be the occasion.

And tho' I am not so much concern'd at the Injury done me in his relation, as to make any unhandsome reflections; yet in order to do my self Justice, I must so far be free with him as to tell him, that my Relation and his are two opposites, the truth of mine I am ready to Vindicate by undoubted and irrefragable Evidence, and let him reconcile his to it if he can.

'Tis true, I confess, as Mr Burchet has related, that there was a Voyage or Expedition to the West-Indies, under the unhappy Conduct of Captain Wilmot, that he had Instructions from his late Majesty, and the division of Plunder set down may be right.

'Tis also true that the Fleet went to St Domingo, afterwards to Jamaica, from whence all that was left return'd to England; and 'tis also true, that Captain Wilmot Dyed before it came home, or else the World had heard of the matter before now.

But I take the freedom to say, and shall in this discourse make it out, that in the General Thread of his History, the account of the Voyage as to Action, there is not one particular related, either with impartiality or with truth, and I refer for the proof of this to the following Sheets.

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I have confin'd this Account to the particular Voyage under Captain Wilmot, because it came under my more exact and particular knowledge, having had the Honour to have the Conduct of the Land Forces committed to me; and as I am more particularly concern'd for the Honour of those Gentlemen and Souldiers who lost their Lives in this Expedition, as well as for my own and theirs who surviv'd; so I hope to make it appear that it was no ways owing to our Ill Conduct if this was accounted a Fruitless and Abortive Expedition.

And after all, I cannot but say that really this was not an Abortive Expedition, and that even in spite of Captain Wilmot's extravagant management, if the Damages done the Enemy, or the Spoils taken from them, had not been conceal'd from the World; if the Captain had not with-held the account of the first, lest the Souldiers should have the Honour of it, and Embezl'd the last both from the Souldiers and the Government: If, I say, the World had been impartially told, what Damage the Enemy suffered, what Care was taken to Ruin the Voyage, and yet what Booty was taken from the French; I can tell them of some Enterprizes, less advantageous to the Publick, which have been counted more successful, have not met with so ill a representation; and do not look with so melancholly a face as this seems to do in the Colours which Mr Burchet's Eloquence has put upon it.

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*I hope Mr Burchet has had better fortune, or at least taken more Caution in the other part of his Accounts; tho' of my own knowledge I could say a great deal to some other Voyages and Expeditions, in which, I doubt he has not been guilty of too much Care: but detecting him is an Employment not worth my while; the Vindication of my own Reputation to the World, and the Reputation of those concern'd with me, is the business before me, and I confine my self to it; not but that I believe, as there are other Gentlemen who complain of being ill treated in almost every account he has given, he may live to see himself expos'd in the rest as much as he is in this.*

*A False History has often this good effect in the World, that it becomes the Mother of a True one; and if a True Unbias'd Account of some Actions was with Care and Exactness transmitted to the World, perhaps some things might thereby come to light, which might be of singular advantage to the Government in their future Conduct of our affairs at Sea, and the World might see some of those many Reasons which have made the best Contriv'd Expeditions miscarry.*

*'Tis in vain for Princes to Design well, if such men as Captain Wilmot, furnished with such Principles, and Master of such Designs, have the Directions of Voyages and Undertakings against the Enemy, Expeditions will miscarry.*



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carry, the Money be spent, and the Nation dishonoured; and 'tis also in vain for men to strive by their Actions to merit from their Country, if they shall be at the Mercy of any Man's Pen, who taking things with the Prejudice or Interest of a Relator, transmits them to Posterity, when he himself knows nothing of the matter.

If Clerks and Secretaries come to write Journals of other mens Actions, those Actions are very much at their Mercy, and those men too; he can never be duly qualified for such an Authentick Relation as is requisite in such a case who was not on the spot, nor concern'd in the Action, unless he had the particulars from those that were.

If Mr Burchet had his Accounts from any Person who was in the Action, I wish heartily, for his own Reputation, he had given us the Names of his Authorities, that we might have transpos'd the blame of the Mistakes we speak of, from him to the true Original,

For my part, I have more claim to the Journal of this Action, than Inclination to write it; but since I am oblig'd, for the reasons before-mentioned, to give this Relation, I am glad that as I was entitl'd to the Direction of every Action in it by my Commission, so I must needs be entitl'd to the Knowledge of it; and therefore I freely own, that if any thing untrue be impos'd upon the World in this Account, 'tis my fault, and I have no excuse for it.

As



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*As to Errors of my Pen, being a little out of my Element, the World won't expect so much from me. I have been more used to Action than Relation, and my part has been more in the matter than the making of a Book. All that I am careful of, is to keep to the Truth, and while I am in the right, as to the matter, I leave my Manner and Language to the censure of the World.*

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# REMARKS

O N

Mr. *BURCHET*'s

## ACCOUNT

**H**IS Late Majesty King *William*, being engaged in a tedious War with the *French*, from his first Accession to the Crown of *England*, as he was entire Master of all the properest methods to Annoy his Enemies, as well as Defend his own just right, so he was not Ignorant, that to Disturb the Trade, ruine the Settlements and Interrupt the Navigation and Commerce of his Enemies, was one of the directest ways to Impoverish their Subjects, Disable them in the Essential part of their Strength, and make them weary of the War.

To this End his Majesty had sent several Orders and Directions, to the Governours of

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the Plantations in the *West-Indies*, by all possible means to Annoy the *French* in those Parts, and to assist them in so doing as well as to Protect them from the Reciprocal Insults of the *French*, had frequently sent some small Squadrons of Men of War, to be always ready at the Direction of and on such Occasions, as the Governours of those Parts should see Cause to Employ them.

But finding that the *French* were very Numerous in their Colonies, and by the Riches of their Plantations were able to fit out Privateers to infest the Western Islands, and that a small Force would not only be Insufficient to disturb them, but also Unable to Protect the *English* Settlements, his Majesty thought fit to make stronger Efforts with a Competent Force, to Assault them at their own Doors, and to that End several Expeditions were Undertaken : as Particularly

*March. 8. 1689.* Under Captain *Wright*, with a Squadron of 10 Men of war and 2 Fireships, with a Regiment of Foot for Land-service.

*October. 30. 1691.* Under Captain *Wren*, with 8. Men of War and one Fireship, and an additional Force of Land Soldiers.

*Nov. 18. 1692.* Under Sr. *Francis Wheeler*, with fifteen Men of War three Fireships, and 1500 Soldiers.

How these three Voyages prov'd Fruitless, and by what Methods and management they miscarried,

miscarry'd, the World perhaps, may in time come to be Informed; but as I have resolv'd to Confine my self in this Account, to the particular Action under my own Conduct, so I shall not Enter into the just Exceptions against other Cases related by the same Author; tho' at the same time I cannot doubt the World is as much Impos'd upon, in all the other Relations as in this: and I am the rather Inclined to believe so, not only from the ill Treatment I have met with my self; but also that having serv'd in the Expedition with Sr. *Francis Wheeler* as Lieutenant Colonel to the Regiment of *Foulks* in the above mentioned Expedition, I can with a great deal of Certainty Assure the World that the Account given of that Voyage, is a great way short of the truth, and very much to the prejudice of the Persons Concern'd.

But as I find 'tis Mr. *Burchet's* way to take things too much upon trust, I content my self at present in relating only those things which as I have already observ'd came under my particular Conduct, and the Fable whereof I am more particularly Concern'd to Explain, not at all from thence supposing that because I have not thought fit to trouble my self any further, I have therefore no more to say.

After his Majesty had resolv'd upon a Fourth Expedition, to the *West-Indies*; and had



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pitcht upon Captain *Willmot* to Command the Naval Part, his Majesty was pleased to send for me, and to do me the Honour to tell me that he had pitcht upon me to Command the Land Forces in this Service.

There had been some other Persons propos'd for the Service ; but some of them his Majesty did not think fit to accept, and others, for several reasons, declined the Service and desired to be Excus'd.

I mention this, because 'tis known some Officers were so sensible, of the constant Affronts Soldiers meet with on Board the Fleet, and the ill usage and Insolent behaviour of the Commanders at Sea, espeically to the Officers of the Army, with the Emulation as to Services which is always between them, that they ventur'd rather to show some backwardness in the Service, and to hazard the King's Displeasure, than to serve where they thought themselves sure to Miscarry.

And tho' I was not Insensible of this, and had seen more than I care to make publick, of the Arbitrary Behaviour of the Sea Commanders in the last Voyage to the *West-Indies*; yet as I thought my self oblig'd, by the Post in which I had the Honour to serve his Majesty, to Dispute none of his Commands, so when he told me he had design'd me for such a Service, I wav'd all the Objections which my own reason laid before me, and told his Majesty, *I was ready to go to any part of the World,*



*World, where his Services required and his Commands Directed me.*

When I had received his Majesty's Orders to prepare my self for this Voyage, I frequently resolv'd to have acquainted his Majesty with some Observations I had made in my former Voyages, how the Contention between Seamen and Soldiers for the Profits, and between the Officers of each for the Honour of the Service, was generally Fatal to the Expeditions themselves, ruin'd his Majesty's Designs, and occasion'd the Mis-carriage of all our Expeditions.

But as his Majesty had a General knowledge of all his own Affairs, and concern'd himself in the most minute parts of their Management, so I found him already more than sensible of the reason of former Disasters, and being ordered to attend his Majesty, in the Princes Chamber behind the House of Lords, I waited accordingly, and Captain *Willmot* also being there, his Grace the Duke of *Leeds* came out and calling us both by Name, told us the King asked for us, and taking us one in one hand, and one in another, led us into his Majesties presence.

The King was drest in his Robes with his Crown and Scepter lying on the Table before him, being just going into the House of Lords; and having paid our Duty to his Person his Majesty told us ;

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‘ He had nothing to say to us relating to  
‘ the particulars of the Voyage, but what was  
‘ fully Included in our Instructions and Or-  
‘ ders ; but that being very sensible, that the  
‘ Diffention between the Land and Sea Offic-  
‘ ers had been always fatal to his Service,  
‘ and had rendred former Expeditions Fruit-  
‘ less and unserviceable, to the Nation’s great  
‘ Loss and Dishonour, therefore he had order-  
‘ ed us to attend together at this time to tell  
‘ us his Mind, and that he did strictly charge  
‘ us, as we tender’d the good of our Native  
‘ Country, and his Favour, that we would be  
‘ careful to maintain a friendly Correspond-  
‘ ence, and a Mutual exact Concurrence of  
‘ kindness in the Executing our Orders; that  
‘ if any little Disputes happened we should  
‘ either refer them to the Council of War,  
‘ or leave them to his Decision at our Return;  
‘ and that he would be sure to do us right,  
‘ and give us both satisfaction.

‘ That for our greater Encouragement,  
‘ and to avoid all Differences in that  
‘ Case, he had ordered all the plunder which  
‘ should be gain’d from the Enemy, Except  
‘ Ships, Guns, Ammunition, &c. to be shared  
‘ among us as well Soldiers as Sea-men, and  
‘ to avoid all occasion of Dispute had settled  
‘ a Division of it by shares, in a Draught an-  
‘ nexed to the Orders, and only desired and  
‘ Commanded us again to avoid all Diffe-  
‘ rences, private Ends or Disputes, and to  
act

• act with Unanimity of Counsel, according  
• to our Instructions; assuring us, that if in  
• any thing we suffered any private Disputes  
• to hinder the service he should resent it in  
• the highest Degree, so wishing us Success  
• and a safe Voyage, Commanded us to re-  
• pair to the respective Rendezvous by the Day  
• settled in the Orders.

His Majesty spoke this with so much Goodness in his manner; and yet with so much Earnestness and Vigour, that I Confess made a particular Impression upon me; and I can say, with a great deal of satisfaction, I had an Especial regard to it in all the Circumstances of my Future Conduct, and had in many cases shown my resentment of the Commadore's Conduct, if the particular Remembrance of the strict charge the King gave me, to refer all my grievances to his Majesties Decision, had not made me more passive then I thought agreed with my Employment, and I am sure much more than agreed with my Temper.

Pursuant to this Speech I receiv'd my Instructions, and Capt. *Wilmot* receiv'd his, and both of us repair'd to our Posts, he to the Fleet, and I to my Regiment, in order to meet at *Plymouth*, which was the Rendezvous appointed for us both.

Our Instructions were given us soon after this, Captain *Wilmot's* were seal'd and Directions given him, which oblig'd him

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not to open them till he came out to Sea, and had reached the Latitude of 40, and then to be open'd in the presence of a Council of War, of all the Officers, both of the Fleet and Land Forces.

*But this Order Capt. Wilmot broke, and open'd his Instructions, no body being present but he and I, and made them up again, after having plentifully Curs'd Mr. Blathwait, and then made the Signal for the Officers to come on Board to the opening his Orders.*

I had the particular Honour of having my Orders given me unseal'd, which were as follows.

### WILLIAM R.

*Instructions for our Trusty and Welbeloved Luke Lillingston Esq; Colonel of one of our Regiments of Foot, which we are now sending to the West-Indies.*

**H**AVING appointed you Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, which we are sending to our Island of *Jamaica*, for the better Security thereof, and to the Neighbouring Islands, in order to annoy our Enemies the *French*, We have thought fit to give you these Instructions for your Guidance and Direction in the Discharge of your Trust.

You are forthwith to repair to *Plymouth*, where



‘ where We have order’d the Draughts, that  
 ‘ are to make up our said Regiment, to be  
 ‘ put on Board such Ships as shall be appoint-  
 ‘ ed to carry them to *Jamaica*, wherein you  
 ‘ are to be assisting, and to use your utmost Care  
 ‘ and Diligence that the said Draughts be kept  
 ‘ from going on Shore which may give the  
 ‘ Men occasion of Deserting.

‘ You shall in their Passage be careful, that  
 ‘ the Provisions intended for our said Regi-  
 ‘ ment be in due manner distributed to them.

‘ And whereas We have given Orders, that  
 ‘ the Commanders of the Squadron appointed  
 ‘ for this Service, shall call at the Island of  
 ‘ *Hispaniola* for Intelligence from our Lieu-  
 ‘ tenant-Governor of *Jamaica*, or the Gover-  
 ‘ nor of *St. Domingo*; you are with the Regi-  
 ‘ ment under your Command to prosecute  
 ‘ such Design against the Enemy, as well be-  
 ‘ fore as after your Arrival at *Jamaica*, as shall  
 ‘ be advis’d by a Council of War.

‘ And it is our will and Pleasure, That the  
 ‘ Council of War, to be call’d from time to time,  
 ‘ shall consist of our Lieutenaut-Governor, or  
 ‘ Commander in Chief of *Jamaica*, the Com-  
 ‘ mander of our Ships of War and the Sea-  
 ‘ Capt. your self as Col. the Major and Capt.  
 ‘ of the Regiment, as often as the said Persons  
 ‘ respectively shall be upon the Place; and  
 ‘ that the Commander in Chief of that Island,  
 ‘ being present, shall preside, and in his Ab-  
 ‘ sence

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‘ sence the Commander of our Squadron, if  
‘ at Sea ; and, in his Absence and Absence of  
‘ the Commander in Chief of the said Island,  
‘ you are to preside in the said Councils of  
‘ War : And in case any Council of War shall  
‘ be held at or near *Jamaica*, there shall be  
‘ added to it the Chief Officers of the Militia  
‘ of that Island, not exceeding six in number,  
‘ as often as the Matter to be debated in such  
‘ Council of War shall relate to the Defence  
‘ of the said Island.

‘ For the greater Encouragement of your  
‘ self and Officers, Seamen and Land-Forces, in  
‘ pursuance of this Service, We do hereby de-  
‘ clare, That all the Spoil that shall be taken  
‘ from the Enemy, shall be divided among  
‘ you and them, according to the annex-  
‘ ed Proportion ; except only Guns, Arms,  
‘ and Ammunition, Ships of War and Sails,  
‘ Cordage, Anchors, Ordnance and Naval  
‘ Stores, which we reserve to our selves.

‘ You shall be obedient to our Lieutenant-  
‘ Governor or Commander in Chief of Our  
‘ Island of *Jamaica*, and to follow his Dire-  
‘ ctions, in Relation to Our Service ; provided  
‘ such Directions as you shall receive from him  
‘ upon any Expedition out of our said Island,  
‘ be not contrary to the Advice of the Council  
‘ of War, as constituted by us.

‘ You shall upon all Occasions be assisting  
‘ to *John Murray* Esq; in the Execution of his  
‘ Charge, as Commissary General of Our Stores,  
‘ and

‘and Musters, Pay-Master and Judge Advocate of Our Forces for that Expedition; and, ‘in case of his Death, to his Assistant, until ‘some other Person shall be appointed by ‘Our Lieutenant-Governor for that Employment.

‘You shall remain with our Regiment under your Command at Our Islands of *Jamaica*, and the Neighbouring Island, as Our Service may require, until further Order from ‘Us.

‘And as the Success of this Expedition will ‘depend very much upon the due Compliance with Our Pleasure hereby signify’d, ‘and in the good Agreement and Concurrence of you, and the Commander of Our Squadron, in all that may tend to Our Service; We do strictly charge and require you ‘to have a principal Regard to the Purposes ‘herein intended by Us, so that Our Service ‘be not disappointed by any unnecessary Scruples or Difficulties, which you are by all ‘means to avoid, as you tender Our highest ‘Displeasure.

‘Lastly, you are from time to time, as you ‘shall have an Opportunity, to transmit unto ‘Us an Account of your Proceedings in the ‘Execution of these Our Instructions, and in ‘the Performance of the Trust reposed in ‘you.

*Given*

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*Given at Our Court at Kensington this 23d.  
day of December 1694, in the Sixth year  
of Our Reign.*

By His Majesty's Command,

*SHREWSBURY.*

Besides these Instructions I had a Commission to supply the Vacancy of all Officers under my Command, in case of Death, Desertion, &c. which because the Commodore thought fit to encroach upon me in that Point, I think 'tis necessary to publish, that the Reader may judge of the Reason I had to oppose him in his Attempt that way.

WILLIAM R.

‘ **W** Hereas We have been pleas'd to ap-  
‘ point you to be Colonel of a Re-  
‘ giment of Foot, for our Serivce in the West  
‘ Indies; We do hereby further Authorize and  
‘ Empower you, upon the Death or Remo-  
‘ val of any of the Officers of our Regiment,  
‘ to Appoint and Commissionate others in  
‘ their stead; and you are to take particular  
‘ care to prefer the Subaltern Officers of Our  
‘ said Regiment, as the Vacancies may happen,  
‘ and to give Us an Account from time to time  
‘ of all Commissions that shall be Issued by  
‘ you,



to the *West-Indies*. 13

‘you, in pursuance hereof, that We may Confirm the same as We shall see cause. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

*Given at Our Court at Whitehall this 10th. day of January 1597. In the Sixth Year of our Reign.*

To Our Trusty and Welbeloved *Luke Lil-  
lingston* Esq; Colonel of Our Regiment of Foot, intended for *Jamaca*.

By His Majesty's Command,

*WILLIAM BLATHWART.*

The Division his Majesty had directed for the Plunder was annexed to my Instructions; and tho' it be right printed in Mr. *Burchet's Memoirs*, yet I think it not impertinent to set it down, that the World may see what Care his Majesty had taken to preserve an Understanding between us, and what share of what was taken from the Enemy we had a right to, tho' by Capt. *Wilmot's* Disposition of things we got none of it.

And as at the Conclusion of this Book I shall note down, as near as I can, what real Plunder we had, which ought then to have been divided, so in viewing that Account, any Person may determine in the gross what he has been defrauded of.

the

## 14 *An Account of an Expedition*

*The Distribution of the Prizes and Booty that should be taken in the West-Indies.*

1. **A**LL Prizes taken at Sea were to be distributed according to an Act of Parliament in that behalf: and of all the Booty at Land, a Third part was to be set aside for the Lieutenant Governour of Jamaica, when Commander in chief on any Expedition, or to the Commander in Chief for the time being; The other two Thirds to be distributed among the Officers and Soldiers, as will be hereafter more particularly expressed.

2. His Majesty's Part of all Prizes at Sea was to be divided among the Seamen only, and the Booty at Land to be divided among the Land-Men only.

3. But when Land-Men happened to be commanded on Board upon any Expedition; or, if in their Passage to the West-Indies, the Transport Ships should be Engaged, and a Prize taken, the Land-Men were to be considered as Seamen, and their Officers on Board to receive a Share according to their Pay. And in like manner the Seamen were to be considered in Service on Shore.

4. That of all Booty, or Prizes, taken in Service on Shoar, wherein the Commander in Chief of the Squadron for the time being should assist with 400 Seamen, or more, the said Commander in Chief was to have the Share allotted

to

to a Colonel, and the Officers appointed by him to Command those Men, to be considered as Land-Officers.

5. No Officer of the Militia was to be considered as a Colonel, that did Command less than 500 Men: Nor as a Captain, if less in his Company than 50, unless such Regiment, or Company, should, after their proceeding on the Expedition, happen to be reduced by Sicknes, or Accidents of War.

Two Thirds of the Booty taken at Land was to be thus divided.

To Field and Staff Officers.

	Shares.
Colonel, as Colonel	18
Lieutenant Colonel, as Lieutenant Colonel	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Colonel	
Major, as Major	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Captain	10
Adjutant	6
Chyrurgeon	6
Chyrurgeon's Mates—2, 4 Shares each	8
Quarter Master	
	6
Total	72

One

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## One Company.

Captain	12
Two Lieutenants, each 6 Shares	12
Ensign	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Six Serjants	12
Six Corporals	9
Two Drummers	3
Two hundred private Men	200
	<hr/>
	252 $\frac{1}{2}$

	Shares:
Five Companies more, consisting of the like Number	} 1262 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Commissary of Stores and Provi- sions, Paymaster of the Forces, Com- missary of the Musters, and Judge Advocate	
	} 12
	<hr/>

Total 1599

To



To the Officers of the Ordinance.

Ensign	15
Master Gunner	$7\frac{1}{2}$
Gunner's Mate	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Twelve Gunners, each 3 Shares	36
Firemaster	$7\frac{1}{2}$
Six Bombardiers, each $3\frac{1}{4}$ Shares	$22\frac{1}{2}$
Master Carpenter	6
Three Mates, each $3\frac{1}{4}$ Shares	11
Chyrurgeon	6

---

116

1599

---

In all 1715

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Two Thirds of the Kings's Part of the Prizes  
at Sea were to be divided after this man-  
ner, viz.

To the Captain — 3 Eights.  
 Lieutenant }  
 & Master- } 1 Eight.

C

Boatswain.

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Boatswain-		
Gunner.		
Purser.		
Carpenter.		
Master's	I	
Mate.		
Chyrur-		
geon.		
Chaplain —		
Midship —		
men —		To be divided
Carpenter's		equally
Mates.		amongst
Boatswains		them.
Mates.		
Gunner's		
Mates.	I Eight.	
Corporals.		
Yeomen of		
the Sheets.		
Coxwain.		
Quarter-		
Masters —		
To the Doctor's		
Mates.		
Chirur-		
geon's	I Eight.	
Mates.		
Yeomen of		
the Pow-		
der Room		

Trumpeter.

Trumpeter.

Quarter-

Gunner.

Carpenter's

Crew.

Steward.

Cook.

Armourer.

Steward's

Mate.

Gunsmith

Swabber.

Ordinary

Trum-

peter.

Barber.

Able Sea-

men —

To be divided  
equally  
amongst  
them.

2 Eights.

Lastly, Such Officers, Soldiers and Seamen,  
as should happen to receive Wounds in any  
Action where a Booty or Prize was taken, were  
to have a double Share, in Consideration of  
the said Wounds.

The Captain's Instructions given him seal'd  
up, were as follows.

1. **T**O sail to Jamaica.

2. **T**O consider with the Governor of that  
Island, and a Council of War, what might be  
done against the Enemy; and, if he should think  
it fit, he was order'd to proceed to Petit Gua-

vas, or the Coast of Hispaniola, according to such Informations as could be got of the Posture of the Enemy; and to take with him such Land Soldiers, and of the Militia of Jamaica, as the Governor should appoint.

3. To order some of his Squadron to cruize off of Petit Guavas, and by all other ways to intercept Supplies to the French from Europe, or any of the Windward Islands.

4. Upon landing the Troops at Petit Guavas, or on the Coast of Hispaniola, (if it should be thought proper to do the same at a Council of War) he was to use his utmost Endeavours to reduce to their Majesties Obedience the Forts, &c. belonging to the French, and to destroy their Sugar-works, Engines, and Plantations.

5. If Petit Guavas could be taken by our Forces, he was to dispose Matters so with his Squadron, as that Possession might be kept of it.

6. To give notice to the Commander in Chief of the Island of Hispaniola, or City of St. Domingo, of his Arrival near that Coast, and to desire his Assistance, by Shipping, and the Conjunction of the Forces or Militia there, for destroying the Enemy on that and the adjacent Islands; to which end the said Governor had received Instructions from the King of Spain his Master.

7. But in case, by the readiness of the Preparations at Hispaniola, or Advices from the Governor of Jamaica, it should be judged Adviseable at a Council of War, to attack the  
French



French before his going to Jamaica, he was to do it.

8. If he gain'd Intelligence at his coming to Jamaica or before his Arrival there, that the French were possess'd of that Island, he was to endeavor to recover it, either by a Diversion, or otherwise, as a Council of War should judge most proper.

9. To hold Councils of War as oft as there should be occasion, to consist of the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, himself, the rest of the Sea Captains, and of the Colonel, Major, and Captains of the Regiment, when those Persons should be on the Place: And the Governour was to preside, if present, otherwise himself; and in his Absence, and that of the Governor's of Jamaica, the Colonel, or Commander in Chief of the Regiment.

10. If the Councils of War were held at Jamaica, there was to be added thereunto the Chief Officers of the Militia, not exceeding Six; but yet in no other case, than when the Matters to be debated should relate to the Defence of the Island. But the Governor was not to meddle with the Discipline of the Squadron, nor was the Commadore to send any of the Ships to Cruize remote from the Island, without the Consent of the Governor and Council, if it might be conveniently had.

11. The Spoil his Majesty gave between Himself, the Officers, Seamen, Soldiers, and Militia, except Guns, Ammunition and Naval-Stores, according to the Distribution which will be hereafter expressed.

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12. After he had done his utmost to Annoy the Enemy, and for Security of the Island, and that he had stay'd thereabouts two or three Months, and no longer, unless a Council of War judg'd it absolutely necessary for some Especial Service, he was to return to England, and to leave five Fourth Rates, and one of the Sixth, for the Guard of the Island: But in his Passage (if the Season of the Year was not too far advanced) he was to sail to the French Parts of Newfoundland, and endeavour to destroy their's, and protect our Fishery, and after that to do the like to the French Vessels on the Bank.

Lastly, and since the Success of this Expedition depended very much upon the good Agreement between him and the Commander in Chief of the Land-Forces, (which was, ended, not only in this Case, but many others, found a very difficult thing) he was enjoined to take care, That no unnecessary Scruples or Difficulties did arise on that Account.

To these Instructions were Annexed the distribution of the Booty as before, Exactly the same with what was given me, and both was signed by his Majesties own hand.

Persuant to his Majesties Orders I took Post for Plymouth, where my Regiment was already arriv'd, and on the 14th of January my Lord Cutts Lev. General came down with Orders to see the Men Embarkt.

In order to this my Regiment Consisting  
of

of 13 Companies, 60 Men each, was broke and a new Regiment form'd of 1200 Men, being 600 of my own Men, 600 Men in three Detachments, drawn out of other Regiments was added to forme my New Regiment; the Regiment was Commanded by my self as Colonel, my Brother *Jarvis Lillingston* as Major, and four Captains, each Company had two Lieutenants, one Ensigne, six Seargeants Six Corporals, two Drums, and 200 private Sentinels, making 218 Men in a Company.

The Regiment out of which the Drafts were made, were 200 Men, out of the Regiment of *Colt*, 200 of the Regiment of *Norcot*, and 200 of *Farrington*. My Lord *Cutts* made the Draft, and Form'd my new Regiment himself, and the same Day they were so form'd they Embark'd on Board 12 Transport Ships hir'd for the purpose.

The Officers of my Regiment which were broke by this Draft, were taken care of by his Majesties special Order, and those of my Men who were left, were Enter-tain'd by my Lord *Cutts*.

The Train of Artillery consist'd of 12 pieces of Canon, viz. 2 Eighteen pounders, 4 Twenty Four pounders, and Six Field-peices with 2 large Mortars.

The Stores were in all things proportion'd to the Design, having 28 Gunners and Fire-Men, 1200 spare Arms, 500 Barrels of Pow-

der, with plenty of all manner of Ammunition and necessary stores.

All things being Ship on Board, we set sail with a fair Wind from *Plymouth*, the 22th of *January* 1694.

As it is not my design, nor indeed my Employment to give a Journal of the Voyage, as to the Navigating part which I do not pretend to understand so its not to be Expected I can Exhibit an Account of the weather or the Geography of places, my business was to Execute his Majesties Orders, and as to the sailing part, I had no mind any more than I had a Capacity to concern my self in it. But I cannot Omit, that the first discovery I made of the ill Temper of the Man I had to do with, was on the following occasion.

The 25, 26. and 27th of *January*, we had very hard Gales of Wind ————— and the *Terra Nova*, one of our Transport Ships Sprung her Fore-top-mast on the 27th, and being by that means not able to keep up with the rest of the Fleet, was left so far a stern, that I apprehended she would loose the Fleet.

Upon this I spoke to the Commadore and told him, that 'twas not convenient that we should leave her, especially being not as yet clear enough of the Channel to be out of the way of the *French*, and we had given Chace to a *French* man of War but the Day before: He answered me, it was their business to keep him



him Company, and if they were seperated they knew where to meet him, if they cou'd all go to the *Maderas*, and he would not trouble his head with them.

Then I began to see I had a *Churle* to deal with, Tho' I did not apprehend he wanted honesty as well as manners; but I considered the Consequence of this Ship, for our Train of Artillery, and all the things belonging to it, with our Bombs and most part of the Powder was on Board her, so I represented it a little warmly to the Com-madore, and told him, that if this Ship miscarried all our Voyage would be in danger, and we should not only disappoint his Majesty, but very much disoblidge him, to omit a due care of that on which the whole Success of our Voyage Depended; that if this Ship were lost or left behind, 'twere better for his Majesties Service, and more for our Reputation, to go immediately back again, than to proceed and put the King to so great a charge, and be baulk'd for want of our necessary helps.

I was obliged to make use of abundance of these Arguments, and such like before I could prevail upon Capt. *Wilmot*, to take any care of this Ship, but at last he was perswaded to send a Man of War back to help her, who took her in a Tow and brought her up to the Fleet, where the damage she had receiv'd was repair'd.

The

The Master told us that if the Man of War had not been sent back, he had resolv'd as soon as the Fleet had left him to have made the best of his way for *England* again, which if he had done we had been in a very sorry Condition, for the Enterprize we were upon, and it seem'd to me an Extraordinary mark of the Captains Disrespect to the Design, that he should want perswasions to take care of so material an Article of our Success.

On the 4th of *February*, Capt. *Wilmot* made a signal for all the Sea and Land Captains to come on Board the *Dunkirk*, to hold a Council of War.

My Capt. Lieutenant coming with the rest, as a Capt. he refused him, as being only a Lieutenant, and told me I was the Capt. and there could not be two Captains of one Company: I Alledg'd to him the custom of War, and the present usage in that Army, and that His Majesty had always approv'd it, but 'twas to no purpose; he was not only resolute in his own Opinion and Unperswadable, but so exceeding Insolent that it was Intolerable, and with a rudeness that I had never seen among Gentlemen, caus'd his Men to turn the Captain Lieutennant out of the Cabbin.

Now I saw my self in a condition, I thank God, I was never in before nor since, I had given my word to his Majesty not to Disagree with a Man that would not agree with  
any

any thing, and I had put my self into a posture, where I was bound to see my self treated with more Insolence than an honest Man ought to suffer. However resolving to govern my self with all the prudence I was Master of, I contented my self with telling him, *I was sorry he understood these Affairs no better, and that if he went on as he began, it was not the way to perform what we both had so faithfully promised his Majesty, and I was sorry he had forgot it so soon.*

On the 7th of February, the Commadore taking me into his apartment, told me, that tho' we were not come into the Latitude of 40, yet he had opened his Instructions which he pulled out, and show'd them me, Expressing a great deal of Dissatisfaction about them, told me they were *very blind ones that Mr. Blathwait had promised him other things, but since he was us'd thus, they might depend upon it, he would not go to the West-Indies to learn the Language, but he would mind his own business however things went.*

He delivered this with such an air as might easily let me see he Expected me to joyn with him, and as if he waited to see what Answer I would give, made a full stop; but I was something surpriz'd at his words, and in part at the manner of his delivering it, and gave no reply, but Reading the Instructions made as if I had not minded him, so for that time he said no more.

On

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On the 12th of *Feburary*, we came to an Anchor at the *Maderas*; and the *Commadore* having Drank pretty freely, and seeming in an Extraordinary good humour, and none but he and I being in the *Cabbin*, he began to open his mind to me.

He told me he found I was a little strange to him, and should be glad we might understand one another better, I told him I thought if there was any strangeness it was on his side, and as we had both promis'd his Majesty to maintain an Entire Confidence, and a Friendly Correspondence, it should not be my fault if we did not, and so offered forgetting all that was past, to begin a more sociable Agreement from that time; and so we Drank to one another again. But says the Captain, our agreement is very necessary on our own Accounts, for if it be not our own faults, we may both make our Fortunes this Voyage; and provide for our selves as long as we live—with all my heart, said I, I shall endeavour not to be wanting to my self, provided the Kings business be done too, Damn the business, says he, we will do the Kings business and our own too. But I'll be free with you, says the Captain, I had the Misfortune to kill a Man: And I think Nam'd him; and it has almost ruin'd me, for it has cost me above a thousand Pound; and I am resolv'd this Voyage shall pay for it. And if you will joyn with me in such Measures as I shall propose, this  
Voyage



*Voyage shall make up all our losses.*

I confess I Reflected upon my own Misfortune; with a great deal of Regret, when I came to find with what an unhappy Colleague the King had Coupl'd me. It had given me some concern before, to find my self Embarkt with a Man of no temper nor manners, but when I came to find I was Embark't with a Murtherer, one that had been a——— and was now resolv'd to be a Thief, I was exceedingly surpriz'd, and reproacht my self a thousand times, with my own forwardness in profering to be concern'd in this unhappy Voyage.

I believe I did not conceal my Resentment of the Proposal he made me so much, but that he perceived some Disorder upon me; however I told him, *I was a stranger to the business of the West-Indies, however I would endeavour to do every thing that became me for the Kings Service, and as for our own advantage, his Majesty had taken care to oblige us, by giving us all we could take from the Enemy, that I would keep as close to my orders as I could possibly, and I hoped he would do so too, and not doubt but we might do the Kings business and be sufficient gainers too.*

By the manner of my Discourse he could not but perceive, that I did not relish the former part of his Discourse. *Well, well, says he, if you don't think fit to joyn with me you*  
*may*

may let it alone, but I am resolv'd to make my self amends; I wont go to the West-Indies to learn the Language, I'll take care of my self, let the Kings business go how it will.

The next Morning I was going on shore, but the Commadore having got very Drunk over night was not up, but called to me to desire me to bespeak a Dinner for him, and the two Ladies he had on Board, and he would be on shore at 12 a Clock: I told him I would, but I could not promise to Dine with him, for I Expected I should be invited to Dinner by the *English* Consul.

I found he seem'd a little Chagrin at my refusing to Dine with him, but little I imagin'd he Design'd to serve me as it seems he had determin'd.

As I expected I was invited to Dinner with my Brother the Major of my Regiment to the *English* Consuls, but about 4 of the Clock my Men brought me word it began to blow, and the Commadore was preparing to go on Board; I immediately went down to the Water-side, where the Commadore and his Women were got into their Barge; the Commadore made me an excuse with more Courtisie than he was us'd to, that it began to blow and the Barge was full of the Ladyes, but if I pleased to stay at the Consuls he would send on shore for me immediately.

Now he had me in his Snare, and as no Man could

could have foreseen such a trick, so Villainous an Action having hardly ever been practis'd; so I cannot blame my self for not being aware of it, for it can hardly be imagin'd that any Commadore of a Squadron, with a body of Land Men on Board, should put so base a trick upon the Man, joyn'd at least, if not chief in the Expedition which was the Design of his Voyage.

I waited uneasily enough all the Evening till the shutting up the Gates of the Town, and no Boat coming, was oblig'd to lye on shore all night with my Officers. In the Morning I came to the shore again and waited for the Barge, but in Vain, having spent all the forepart of the Day in Expectation of the Barge comming on shore; I sent at last my People about the Town to hire a Boat to carry us on Board, they spent some hours in Endeavouring to procure a Boat but to no purpose: some Fishing Boats were to be had on the other side of the Island but that was too far off, about 4 a Clock in the Afternoon one of my Men, came to me and told me the Commadore had made the Signal for Sayling; being a little surpriz'd at this we all run down to the Sea-side, where we had the Mortification to see the whole Fleet weigh, set Sayl, and with a Fresh Gale stand off to Sea.

I leave any Man to Judge the temper we were in, by the Condition he would himself be

be in on such occasion. We were here on shore in an Island under a Foreign Dominion of *Portuguese*, and all Men know theirs is none of the most Conversible in the World, without our Mony; our Authorites; our Cloths, *those we had on excepted*; our Friends gone away; our Regiment with them. In short, we had all the possible Provocations, which make Men of more Government than I can pretend to Despair.

When I considered the Disappointment of the Voyage, the loss of my own Expectations, the Villany of the Contrivance, the Resentment of the whole Nation, and the Kings particular Concern, tho' I knew my self Innocent of any reason for this barbarous Action, yet I cannot deny it filled me with the uttermost Confusion of thoughts.

Let any Man be judge of the Condition we were in, that can form Ideas in his mind of the just particulars, the very reproach our whole Nation suffer'd among the *Portuguese*; and all the People there, who told us this was an *English* trick, and so abus'd the whole Nation, and mockt at us into the bargain, after we had sufficiently mortified ourselves with the Present Afflictions of our Circumstances, and spent 2 or 3 days Cursing the Treacherous Commadore, and finding 'twas to no purpose to vex our thoughts with the Consideration of our Misfortunes; but that it became us as Men to think what was next to be done, we endeavour'd by the assistance of



of the *English* Consul, to hire a Bark to carry us to the *West-Indies*; and having at last procur'd a Vessel, we began to make Preparations for our Voyage, being in all sixteen of us Officers.

But Heaven that had seen the Treachery and most villainous Practices of this Wretch the Commadore, would not suffer his Design to prosper; for having been several Days at Sea, the Wind proving contrary and blowing too hard, the *Ruby* and the *Reserve*, Men of War, with several Transport Ships were separated from the Fleet, and Forced back again to the *Maderas*.

If our Concern was great at the Unaccountable Conduct of the Commadore, our Joy was proportioned to it at the Arrival of these Ships; and, I suppose, I need not Inform the World, that as soon as we saw them stand in for the Shore, we provided Boats and went on Board, my Major and my self on Board the *Ruby*, and the other Officers on Board the rest of the Ships.

It was no Surprize at all to me, to find that the Commadore had appointed no Rendezvous for the Fleet, in case of Separation; for he that did some things so Irregular, as has been related, might very well be supposed to do the rest proportionably so. None of these Ships had any Sailing Orders, and some of the Officers talkt of returning for *England*; and had I not chanc'd to have my Instructions in

D

my

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my Pocket, we had had no rule to guide us, for no body could tell whither to go; but taking our Measures according to our own Thoughts, we agreed to Sail for St. *Christopher's*, and accordingly we weigh'd the  
of Feb. 1694 from *Maderas*, having two Men of War, sixan Trsports and a Pink Merchant-man in Company.

I had now time to consider what should be the Reason of this most unaccountable Conduct of the Commadore; and as I knew I had not by my Misbehaviour done any thing so far to affront him, as to make a personal Quarrel, so I began to reflect on the Matter, and to consider, that there must be something more in this Affair than I yet saw into: I could not take it for a personal Affront only, because all my Officers were in the same case; but I concluded he had some particular Design in his head, which he had not thought it convenient to discover, finding me averse to what he had already propos'd, and that whereas I had declin'd embracing his general Proposal, he found I was not a Man for his Turn, and therefore had contriv'd this Project, that he might have the sole Conduct of the Voyage, and be General on Shore, as well as Admiral or Commadore at Sea.

I cannot but observe from hence, that this very Conduct of his, confutes what the Relator of this matter insinuates in his *Memoirs*, That the whole Conduct of the Voyage was  
committed

committed to the Commodore Capt. *Willmot*: for his Majesty had committed the Conduct of the Land Forces to me; and as I was Colonel and Commander in chief of the Land Forces, so I was of Director the Land Service; and I am satisfied the King himself understood it so; and my having no Orders to obey the Commodore, but Instructions by my self distinct from him, shows that the Land Service was my particular Province, abstracted from him; and that his Business was to convoy and pilot us to the places, cover our Landing, and assist us if there was Occasion.

If his Majesty had thought fit I should have taken my Orders from the Commadore, he would not have given me Instructions separate from him: my Powers were distinct, and related to Services apart from him, and in several Cases Superior: If I was to have obey'd him, his Majesty wou'd have said so, as he did in the particular Case of like Nature, in the Governour of *Jamaica*.

On the contrary I had separate Instructions; I had separate Powers; I was to preside in the Council of War on Shore, as he was to do by Sea; I had power to grant Comissions and supply the Vacancies of Officers, which he had not, tho' he pretended to it: as shall appear afterwards.

So that I think I do not arrogate any thing to my self, in saying that his Majesty

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sent me with 1200 Land-men, to the Islands of *St. Domingo*, to joyn with the *Spaniards*, in Order to annoy the Enemy, and he sent Commadore *Wilmot* to be our Convoy.

This Digression is occasion'd by Mr. *Burchett's* placing the whole Conduct of this Voyage, under the Direction and Government of Captain *Wilmot*; which with Submission I presume to say is a Mistake.

The Commadore having open'd his heart to me, before our going on Shore at *Maderas*, and discovered both what a Man he had been, and what he intended to be; If I had clos'd with him all had been well: but as I was exasperated at the Resolution he told me he had taken, and refused to join with him, I cou'd plainly see his Behaviour so altered, that to me it was plain he was willing to get clear of me, and to that End put this trick upon me, not doubting that we shou'd go back for *England*, and so the Management of the whole Voyage should be left to him.

But Providence crost him in this part of his Design, as it did at last in all the rest: for those Ships having been put back to the *Maderas*, we got on Board, as I noted already, and having made the best of our way for *Saint Christopher's*, we arriv'd there the 24th of *March* and there we found the Commadore who came in with only one Man of War, and a Fireship; all the rest of the Fleet had been disperst by the bad Weather, and did  
not



not come together till some time after ——— whether my coming along with the Ships was a Disappointment to him or no, any one may judge; he carry'd it seemingly fair, and complemented us upon our Arrival, told me he was separated from the Fleet by bad weather, and could not fetch back again: tho' this might be true, yet nothing can be said for their sailing from the Island; for tho' 'tis true when the Winds rise it is Customary to put off to Sea, yet this was so little, that several small Merchant-men never stirr'd for it, but rid it out.

I confess my Blood boyl'd within me, at the Thoughts of the Man and his Actions; but my Promise to his Majesty, and the Earnestness the King us'd, in the Charge he gave us both, coming often to my Mind, I always made use of it to check the Resentments, which I had otherwise very good reason for,

For his Sailing from the *Maderas*, was a visible Design to rid himself of the trouble of the Land Officers; having found me discover a Detestation of the villainous Proposal he had made.

'Tis farther observable, that nothing prevented his having effectually compass his Design, but his own Negligence of giving a general Order to his Ships, at what Port to rendezvous in Case of separation, for he had wheedled all or the greatest part of my Officers on Shore, by an Invitation to Captain

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*Monjoy*, to bring them to dine with him, and having left us all, as is already observed, and sail'd without us, we had been effectually cut off from the Fleet, and from the Design.

But as Heaven had Infatuated the Man, to forget so material a Part of his Duty, as Commadore, *viz.* the appointing a general Rendevouz of the Fleet; this Accident brought part of them back to the *Maderas*, and was the Recovery of our Disaster: and it was more than ordinarily Visible, the Commadore's Design was laid for the tricking us in this Matter; for he expressed so publick Resentment, and retain'd it so long against Capt.

the Commander of the *Ruby* Man of War, who took us on Board, that the whole Fleet took Notice of it, and I am mistaken if ever he was reconcil'd to him afterward.

'Tis observable, that we had particular Directions, from his Majesty, as much as in us lay, to keep the knowledge of our being come into those Parts from the *French*, as a most Material point in preventing the Preparations they might make for their Defence.

Commadore *Wilmot* was so far from being careful in this Case, that he took all the directest Methods in the World, to make his Arrival in those Parts as publick, as was possible; for both at *Antegoa*, and at *Mount-Serrat*, he took the liberty at his going on Shoar, to  
tell

tell publickly both what he was come for, and whither he was going.

But this was not all, for Capt. *Buttler*, Capt. of the *Winchester* a Third-Rate, sailed along the Coast of *Guardalupe*, as near the Shoar as possible, and fired several Shot on Shoar, which Method could have no other Construction, as to the Enemy, than that we intended shortly to visit them, and consequently to put them upon the necessary Preparations for their Defence: It cou'd have no other Signification, as I have said, because his Business was not to have let them know of his being there, till they had seen him on the Coast; and his firing on Shoar could have no particular Design, because he could really do them little harm by those Random Shots.

I express my Dislike of this to the Com-madore, but he took little notice of it, or of me; and after that, indeed, I expected no great Civility from him in any Case, and therefore convers'd with him as little as possible, not expecting indeed that our Voyage could meet with any Success under the Management, and by the Direction of a Person of such Conduct.

Being arrived at *St. Christophers*, my Brother, the Major of my Regiment, had a Ruffle with the Commodore, who Insulted him very rudely: the Major told him

in short, that tho' I had given my Word to the King to have no Difference with him, and therefore bore with all his ill Usage; yet he had made no such Promise, and therefore was under no Obligation, and expected from him to be treated like a Gentleman, and to receive the same Respect he showed him; for being none of his Superior Officer, if he behaved himself ill to him, he would use him accordingly: this being resolutely delivered, the Commadore who was very hot and rude at first, grew Calm, and gave him no Answer.

March 25, 1695. The Commadore asked me to go on Shore and Dine at Collonel *Codrington's*, General of the *Leeward* Islands, and the General treating us at a House on the \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_ Commadore *Wilmott* was pleased to be very drunk, and inviting General *Codrington* to let his Son go with us, he told the General he would give his Son a Commission to be an Ensign in my Regiment; I thought 'twas hard that I was coupled with a Man, that Drunk or Sober could do nothing without some Affront or other to me in it; so I told General *Codrington*, I supposed the Commadore was mistaken, and that he meant he would make him a Lieutenant of a Ship, for that he had no Power to give any Commission in my Regiment: The Commadore fell into such a Passion at this, that he lost all Government



vernment of himself, disturbed all the Company, frightened the Ladies, and gave me such ill Language, that I could no longer restrain my Passion; and this was the only time that I broke my Promise to his Majesty, if this may be called a Breach of my Word: for his Majesty charged me to avoid, indeed, all Scruples, and private Differences about the Service; but his Majesty never commanded me to suffer my self to be insulted before all my Friends, and us'd like a Dog; neither was it what his Majesty expected me, or any of his Officers to bear: Upon this, I gave him a Pinch on the Arm, and went out, giving him a Token to follow me, but he took no notice of it, but as Drunk as he was, he had Wit enough to sit still, and when I came in again he was gone, *viz.* into the next Room, and was fast asleep upon the Bed.

Let any Man judge what a Task I had, that was tyed to a Man that had neither Courage to answer for himself as a Gentleman, nor Manners to behave himself as a Man, but that I was obliged to bear the ill Treatment of a Man of his Temper, without any possible Method of Redress.

The 26<sup>th</sup> we returned to our Ships, the General doing me the Honour to go with me to the very Watering Place: the 27<sup>th</sup> a Court Martial was held on account of the Misbehaviour of some of our Land Officers, and Two Lieutenants ———— and one Ensign

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Ensign of Capt. *Monjoy's* Company were broke, tho' much against my Judgment, for I think they were wholly Innocent; but the Witnesses being hard Mouthed Fellows, and *God forgive them*, swearing Home, the Gentlemen were broke and dismiss the Service.

The 28th of *March*, we weigh'd from *St. Christophers*, and in Eight Days time arrived at *St. Domingo*.

It is to be noted, that when we came first to Sea, in the Latitude appointed to break up our Instructions, the Commodore was ordered to send away a Ship to the Governour of *St. Domingo*, with a Pacquet received from the *Spanish* Ambassador here, in which was contained Orders and Instructions from the King of *Spain* to the Governour of *St. Domingo*, to concert Matters with us, for the Execution of the intended Expedition against the *French* Settlement upon that Island, in which the *Spaniards* were to joyn all their Forces with ours, for the Reduction of the *French* Forts, and the removing them from their Plantations.

I suppose I need not inform any Body, that the Island of *Hispaniola* is a large but dispeopled Island, and the *Spaniards* tho' they were the first Possessors of it, and have Settlements on all Sides of it, where they thought it worth their while to Inhabit, yet there being vast  
Tracts

Traacts of Land unplanted and uninhabited, the *French* made bold to take Possession of that Part of the Island, which being to Windward, was either of no use, or altogether disregarded by the *Spaniards*; and as the *Spaniards* dispised the first Encroachment, or thought it not worth while to dispossess them at first, or whether by mere Negligence, or other Mistakes of that sloathful Nation, they were at first neglected, when they might ha' been suppressed, they soon grew so numerous there, encourag'd by the Fertility of the Soil, and fortified themselves so well, that they were at last too strong to be removed, having one regular Fort at Port *de Paix*, several Platforms and Batteries raised on the Coast, and a small Retrenchment, with a fortified House at *Savanna*, on the South part of the Island.

This was the Settlement, which his Majesty design'd we should attack; and in order to execute it, Measures had been concerted here with the *Spanish* Ambassador, who had procured all the necessary Orders and Instructions from his Catholick Majesty, by which the *Spanish* Governour was fully directed what to do; the Matter of Forms and Command was settled, and the Possession and Plunder exactly regulated.

The *Spanish* Generals on Shoar, were to take Orders from me, and their Admiral at Sea, to be commanded by the *English* Com-madore;

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madore ; all Forts taken were to be demolished, and the Spoil was to be equally divided ; no Colours were to be planted upon any of the Enemies Works, if taken, nor no Possession maintained by the *English*; but all that could be taken from the Enemy was equally to be shar'd, with several other Conditions so exactly managed, that we had no Dispute with the *Spaniards* but what was easily accommodated, and to give the Governour of St. *Domingo* his Due, we found him very ready to comply with every thing which could reasonably be expected, and forward enough to promote the Expedition, tho' not in any great Readiness when we came there.

According to our Directions in that Case, the *Swan* Frigat, Captain *Moses* Commander, was sent away with the Packet from the Fleet, with Orders to joyn us as soon as he heard we were on the Coast.

The *Swan* had a prosperous Voyage, and on the Day before, we came to an Anchor before St. *Domingo*, joyned us again, and brought a Compliment from the Governour, inviting the *English* to the Port.

On the 5th, we came to an Anchor, with part of the Fleet, before St. *Domingo*; the rest of the Fleet were ordered to go about, and Anchor in *Savanna* Bay, on the back of the Island.

On



On the sixth, the Commadore and I went on Shoar, and waited on the Governour, who received us very handsomly, and Treated us with all the obliging Civilities a Gentleman in such a Post could do, or we could expect.

And here I cannot avoid clearing the Reputation of that Gentleman, as carefully as I would my own. Mr. *Burchet*, from what Authority I know not, having told the World some very Scandalous things of him, as that, like a True *Spaniard*, he raised needless Scruples, and thereby lost 12 Days time.

Now as every Circumstance of Mr. *Burchet's* Relation is herein most notoriously False, I must observe the Causes of what Scruples he raised, and then what the Scruples themselves were.

The Commadore and I went to wait on the Governour, and as the Commadore was a forward talking Man, and expected to appear the principal Person in the Management, he engrossed the whole Discourse, and entertained the Governour with a long Account of what he had Directions to do; and I, as I was never fond of talking to no Purpose, said yet very Little.

At last the *Spanish* Governour pulling out his Instructions, and with some Pause reading in them to himself, askt the Commadore very gravely but civilly, if he was the Commander

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der of the Land Forces : He told him he had the Direction of the Voyage, and was the Commadore or Admiral of the Squadron. The Governour beg'd his Pardon, but told him that his Instructions were to concert Measures for this Expedition, with the Commander in Chief of the Land Forces, and offered to shew the Commadore his Instructions ; which he being bound up to, enquires which was the Commander of the Land Forces ; upon which I took the Liberty to let him know I was the Person : he return'd very obligingly that his Business was with me, and told the Commadore he had no Power to treat with any Body Else.

This fetch't all the Blood the Commodore had near his Heart up into his Face, and as it seemed particularly to tend towards the Disappointment of his private Designs, as well to lessen him, as he thought, in the Command of the Expedition, he resented it extremely

But the Governour insisted peremptorily on his Point, that he was to follow his Instructions, and by them he had no Business with the Commodore, and therefore would not Treat with him : his Instructions he said knew no such Man, but was ready to enter into Measures with me.

These are the Insignificant Scruples which the Governour rais'd, which, as Mr. *Burchet* says, were like a right *Spaniard* : and I leave

it

it freely to the Judgment of Men of Service, who know what it is to have Orders, and how to observe them, whether it would not be well if all our *English* Commadores were right *Spaniards* in this particular.

Now had I a Difficult part again, the Commadore was so cholerick upon this point, and carried himself so haughtily, that he could not forbear affronting the Governour: the Governour told him his Orders were express from the King his Master, to concert Matters with the Commander in chief of the Land Forces, and with him only, and civilly begg'd his Pardon, but he had no power he said to enter into Measures with any Body else, but that he was to concert with the *Spanish* Admiral. This affronted *Wilmott* yet more, and he so disdained to talk with the *Spanish* Admiral, that he studied always after to affront him.

'Twas in this Dispute, the 12 Days Time was Lost; for it put a full stop to the Business, for *Wilmot* would suffer nothing to be done; and, had not I at last prevailed with the *Spanish* Governour to admit *Willmott* into our Consultations, and so reconcil'd the Matter, nothing had been done.

This Affair being thus settled, our Measures were soon resolved on: the *Spanish* Governour agreed to assist us with 1700 — Land Men, and Three — small Men of War, to which I agreed to joyn my Regiment

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ment of 1200 Land-men, and the Commodore to add 500 Seamen: the *Spaniards* were to March by Land, and I was to Land the *English* Forces at *Cape Francois*, and the Rendezvous was appointed at the point of Land near *Manchineel* Bay, on the North side of the Island.

Our Agreement with the *Spanish* Governour was reduced to six Heads, which being put into Writing, in *English* and *Spanish*, was signed by us all, and exchanged; the true Copy whereof, sign'd by Capt. *Willmott's* own Hand, is as follows,

ARTICLES agreed and Concluded upon, between *Robert Willmott, Esq;* Commander in Chief of all the King of *Great Britain's* Fleets and Sea-Forces in *America*, and Colonel *Luke Lillingston* Commander in Chief of his Majesties Land Forces on the one part, and *D. Ignatio Peris Caro* on the other.

1st. **T**HAT the Spoil and Plunder shall be equally divided between the *Spanish* and *English* Souldiers in Proportion with the Numbers of Men, and that any Officer or Soldier of either Nation, that shall presume to conceal or Imbeazel the said Spoil, shall



shall be punished as a Court Martial shall think fit.

IIIdly, That the Spoil of the Churches shall remain untouched, and that the Soldiers on either side shall not presume to enter into them; but that the Officers on both sides shall place Guards on them, until there be a due Valuation made of the Spoils, which may be in them, by such Persons as the Generals of both Nations shall appoint: And that after such Valuations, the Spaniards shall possess themselves of all; provided they pay to the English the value of the Share of such Church Spoils, which was their Right.

IIIIdly, That the Clergy shall not be subject to any Injury in their Persons or Offices, and that the Soldiers on both sides shall behave themselves decently, as to Divine Service, and that any Persons that shall Presume to transgress this Article, shall be severely punished.

IVVly, That the English Fleet shall carry off all the Prisoners that may be taken, which shall be serviceable Men; leaving on the Island the Old Men, Women, and Children.

VVly, That the English Admiral and General will give all the Assistance in their Power to the Spanish General, and that the Spanish General will furnish the English General with Horses to carry their Officers, Baggage and Sick, and Wounded Men, as there shall be Occasion.

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Lastly,

*Lastly, That all other Articles and Agreements that shall be made on the Frontiers, between the Generals of both Nations, shall be ratified and made good by the said Governour of Hispaniola.*

In Witness whereof, the said Parties have hereunto put their Hands and Seals, this—Day of *April*, 1695.

*Vera Copia,*

ROBERT WILLMOT.

During this time, the Fleet rode in *Samina* Bay on the other side of the Island, where they had taken in Wood, and Fresh-Water, sufficient for a long time, and the Matter being agreed with the *Spanish* Governour, we sailed about the Island to joyn them.

On the 22d of *April*, we arived in *Samina* Bay; and tho' I press'd the Commadore to weigh, and stand away for the Cape, in order to be ready for meeting the *Spaniards*; yet he loytered away six Days in the Bay: During this time, how his People were employed, I know not; but as for himself, he spent the time in Diversions every Day, rowing about the Bay in his Barge, with the Ladies, and attended by the Trumpets, and all the Musick of the Fleet in other Boats, to recreate himself and the Women,

men, with the pleasantness of the Country.

The 28th of *April*, we weigh'd out of *Samina* Bay, but the Winds being variable we had but an ill Voyage and arriv'd the 4th of *May* in *Manchineel* Bay.

The Sixth of *May* the Major General of the *Spanish* Forces came to us, having left the Army in full March, and here we concluded to Attack the *French* Fort at Cape *Francois*.

On the Seventh, Three *Spanish* Men of War came and joyned the Fleet, one of 41 Guns, one of 36, and one of 28, having on Board them 400 Land-men.

The *Spanish* Admiral gave an extraordinary Instance of their forwardness to promote the work, in avoiding insignificant Scruples, as Mr. *Burchet* calls it, for as soon as he came into our Fleet, he took down his Flag which he wore before, and only rid with a broad Pendant, all the time he rod by our Fleet tho' the Island belonging to the King of *Spain*, he had the more right to carry his Flag; but I must say, for the honour of the *Spaniards*, they all along shew'd a great forwardness for the Service.

We staid three Days in this place waiting for the *Spanish* Army, and I went every day on Shoar Expecting them, but the length of the March, and the heat of the Weather, kept them back till the 12th, and then I found them they were about 1600.

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in Number made up of *Spaniards*, *Mollettoes*, and Island People but well Arm'd and forward enough.

Upon the Arrival of these Forces we prepar'd for the business, and on the 14, Land-ed my Major with 200 Men to joyn the *Spaniards*, and so to March by Land to the place where the rest of the Forces were to go on Shoar.

Here Mr. *Burchet* is pleas'd to Impose upon the World again in telling us, that on Consultation between the Commadore and the *Spanish* General, it was agreed, that I should Land with 300 Men, and March with the *Spaniards*.

First of all, as it was my business to consider with the *Spanish* General, the proper Measures of the Conjunction of the Troops; so neither was the Commadore so exceeding forward to put on the business; but I sent to the *Spanish* General to know his Resolution, and then Consulted with all the Officers, where it was agreed to Land a Party of Men to joyn the *Spaniards*, but as it was not my business who Commanded the whole Body, so I hope, the World will believe I knew my business better, than to March myself with a Detachment and leave the ster on Board.

But my Brother Landed, as I have observ'd, he being my Major and joyn'd with the *Spaniards*, not with 300 but with 200  
Men



Men and as soon as they were Landed, the whole Fleet weigh'd and stood for Cape *Francois*, where the rest of the Men were to Land.

At Cape *Francois* the *French* had a small Fort, which they made shew of Defending; near this Fort I resolv'd to Land with my whole Forces, and the *Spanish* Army was to destroy the Country as they came by Land.

Mr. *Burchet* whether from a Native Liberty of speaking at Random, or upon some very Gross Misinformation, is pleas'd to treat me very rudely on this Head, and the Men worse.

*Either, says he, p. 318. the said Colonel thought it not proper to undertake this Affair, or for some other reasons it was laid aside, and the Men straggl'd up and down the Country for Plunder, by which means several of them were lost.*

This as it is a Notorious Forgery, so it is a ridiculous story; for first, I could not be said to decline the undertaking, for I sent my Major with this Party, and I need not trouble the World to tell them how Ridiculous I should have lookt, and how I should have expos'd even his Majesties Judgment, in sending one so far who knew no better. For as when on Shore I was to Command even the *Spanish* Generals, so it would have been a senseless thing for me to have gone with a Party, and expect the *Spaniards* should

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have been Commanded by a Leader of a Detachment: But to end all the Dispute, I Affirm it was never Concluded or Design'd, that I should go my self, but my Major was Ordered to Command this Party, which he did accordingly.

And as he was an Experienc'd Officer, and had serv'd on all occasions, with an unblemish'd Conduct for about 20 Years so he knew better what his Duty was, than to let the Men straggle in an Enemy's Country. They Marcht in Conjunction with the *Spaniards*, and under the strictest Discipline. Their Orders were to destroy the Country and ruin the Plantations of the Enemy, and this they observ'd, but with as much Conduct and as much Obedience to their Officers as can be desir'd of Old Soldiers that knew their Duty, and valued themselves upon it.

While this was doing, I Landed with the rest of the Army at Cape *Francois*, I had all the Interruption and ill-natur'd usage from the Commadore, in my Landing as he was capable of. The Boats he sent us in had no Officer to Command them, tho' I had desir'd there might be a Lieutenant with the Boats; this occasion'd such Confusion in our Landing, that had an Enemy been ready to oppose us we had never been able to maintain ourselves, for the Boats went and came at pleasure, and tho' I Landed about 4 a Clock in the Afternoon, it was One in the Morning before

before they brought all my Men on Shore : This occasion'd me to Encamp for that Night, not knowing whether I had any Enemies at hand or no.

The place of putting us on Shore was also contriv'd by the Commadore, to Incommode us as much as possible, for we had 5 and half Leagues, to March by Land over a Point of Land which for one League and half Rowing, could have been gain'd by Sea ; but his whole Behaviour tended visibly to the harassing the Men, and rendering the Service difficult.

The *French* in their Fort at the Cape, finding we were Landed, and should by our March cut off their Retreat, blew up the work, and Marcht away, carrying every thing away they could with them to *Port de Paix* the principal Fortification of the whole Colony.

Here we found the first Experiment of Captain *Willmot's* management, persuant to the resolution he told me he had taken of minding his own business, without any respect to his Majesties Instructions.

We had about 5 Miles to March when the Enemy blew up the Fort at Cape *Francois* ; but as soon as ever the Commadore perceiv'd from the Fleet, that the Fort was blown up, and the Town Deserted he Mans out his Boats, and with 4 or 500 Seamen rows away directly to the place ;

and had made such quick work, that when we came up we found the whole Town Plundered, all that was worth carrying away gone, and the Boats and all the Men gone on Board the Fleet, except one Sea-man, with a Musquet on his shoulder left to guard the Flag he had set up.

And now it we plainly discovered why *Wilmot* contriv'd our Landing so far short of the Cape, Imagining, as it fell out, that the *French* would never stay to be shut into their Fort by the Army, and so he might have the opportunity of Plundering the Town before we could come up, which he did effectually.

This usage had like to have ruin'd all our Expedition, for the *Spaniards* were so disgusted that they were all for Marching back again, and my Men were all in a mutiny, and 'twas as much as I could do to keep them off of the Seamen, whenever any Boat came on Shore, and they all swore they would never go on Board again, *one and all* they would choose to hang rather than go on Board the Ships; for they had been so ill us'd by the Seamen on Board, and now so cheated of the Plunder, which by the King's Orders was to be divided among them, that they swore to be reveng'd of the Seamen, and it was not without Extraordinary Difficulty, that I brought them to any Temper: At last they desir'd me to let them



them March over Land with the *Spaniards*, for they would not a Man of them go on Board again till they were to sail to *Jamaica*: Here also I had a small difference with the *Spanish* Officers about the *English* Flag, which the Commadore had set up upon the Remains of the Fort which was taken; the *Spaniards* insisted, that by the Agreement made between us at *St. Domingo*, all Fortifications which should be taken, should be immediately demolished, and the Guns and Ammunition be divided.

I told them, the Commadore had hoisted the said Flag before I came, and that I could not tell what his Reason might be, till I had spoken with him; and that I was not willing to strike it, but by Order in a Council of War. They answered; then the Commadore had broke the Articles, and that it was an affront to their King, and to them too; and unless it was taken down, they could not continue in the Expedition, but would immediately march back; finding this little Difficulty would ruin all the Design, at last, I accommodated it, by agreeing they should hoist the *Spanish* Flag upon the Fort, with the *English*, by which the Possession of the Fort was acknowledged to be both *Spaniards* and *English*; and this gave them some Satisfaction.

May 22d, I sent to the Commadore to come on Shoar, that a Council of War might be

be held concerning the Article of Plunder, in order to satisfy both my own Men and the *Spaniards*; he came on Shoar, but to prevent our Demands; came blustering and swearing, that he would be revenged of the *Spaniards*, and threatned the *Spanish* Admiral, for that his Men had carryed away all the Plunder on board his Ship; whereas, our own Seamen confest, the Commadore would not let the *Spanish* Seamen meddle with any thing, tho' they were on Shoar with them, till the *English* had got all that was worth carrying away.

These Disputes held four or five Days, and my Men were so exasperated, and so Mutinous, I knew not what to do with them. In this Extremity I sent to the Commadore again to come on Shoar, to a Council of War; but he sent me for answer, he would not come; if I wanted any more Councils of War, I might come on board to him.

The 27th of May, the *Spanish* General sent an Officer to me, to acquaint me, that having done all the Damage to the Enemy that was possible in his March; he was now ready to March for *Port de Paix*, and desir'd I would joyn him with the Body of Forces which were with me; that together we might attack the *French* in their great Fort, as had been resolved.

The *Spaniards* had received advice, that *Monfieur de Grave*, a *French* Officer, was march'd

march'd towards *Samina* Bay with a strong Party, and the *Spaniards* having left their Bagage there, the General sent his Major General back with a Detachment to bring up the Bagage ; and having parted with so many Men, they car'd not for marching any farther till I had joyn'd them.

Upon the Commodore's refusing to come to a Council of War, I was forced to give my Men very good Words, and promis'd to satisfy them when all was over, and so perswade them to March, and accordingly I joyn'd the *Spanish* Army with 900 Men.

And at my beginning to march, I sent the Commadore Word of our Intentions, and desir'd him to Sail with the Fleet for *Port de Paix*, that he might be ready to assist us; but desir'd him to leave three or four Transport-Ships to take in our Sick Men, or in case we should be obliged to retreat, to take us on board.

And here we had another Instance of the Commadore's Management: the heat and hardships our Men endured in the long March from *Samina* Bay, I expected, might occasion some of the Mens being Sick, and for that Reason, had order'd some Ships to be left for the taking Care of them; accordingly when I came to the Army, I caus'd all the Sick Men of the Major's Detachment, being above 30 private Men, and Two Officers, to be sent back to Cape *Francois*, in order to be

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be put on board ; but when they came there, the Commodore was gone, and had not left any Vessel to take care either of them or us ; and had not the *Spanish* Admiral, who all along behaved himself with a great deal of Civility ; had not he had Compassion upon the Sick Men, they had all perished, or at least, fallen into the Enemies Hands.

This is the Loss, Mr. *Burchett* says, was occasioned by the Men's straggling up and down the Country for Plunder ; for excepting that these Men were Sick, I do not remember that above 10 or 12 Men of the whole Detachment, being 200 Men, died ; I am satisfied, that of 160 Men whom I left sick on Board, more died in that short time for want of Necessaries, and due Care of them, than were lost in our whole Army in the Service, and fatigue of a long March in a violent hot Country.

I was now joyn'd the *Spanish* Army, and in full March for *Port de Paix*, and it was a very severe March ; for tho' the *Spaniards* told us, we should come there in four Days, we made it sixteen ; in which time, we had a great many violent Showers of Rain, which tho' it cooled us a little, yet it made our March very uneasy ; and we had several rapid deep Rivers in the way, which we were obliged to wade through, for we had no Horses ; and that which was worse, the excessive Rain had spoiled all our Bread ;

so



so that for five Days, neither Officer, nor Soldier, had any Food but Wild Cabages, Purslain, and Oranges, and such like Fruits to subsist on ; and yet we did not loose above 12 Men in this terrible March.

This was the time, of which Mr. *Burchett* observes, the Commadore could not hear what was become of the Army ; the truth is, the Commadore could not well hear of us and we would have been very glad to have heard of him, but he was employ'd in plundering all along upon the Coast, without any regard to the Design in Hand.

But Mr. *Burchet*, to bring in his Commadore doing something ; tells us, *Page 319* ; he called a Council of War, and proposed the landing of 400 Seamen, and to make us believe that he was wonderful solicitous for our Safety, will have this be a Design to try for a Communication with us ; we had been beholding to the Commadore for so civil a Design, if it had been real, whether it had been effected or no ; and it had shown something of more Kindness than ever we saw reason to look for.

But I see nothing in all this, but a premeditated Sham to cover a most foolish and ridiculous Action ; the Truth of which is as follows,

There was a pretty large Plantation about four Leagues from *Port de Paix*, which the  
Commodore

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Commodore had a great mind to plunder; but he understanding the Gentleman that own'd it had fortified his House, and got some Men together to defend it; and had also, four pieces of Canon mounted on a Platform at the entrance into his House; here-upon, he calls a Council of War for the Form sake, and to attack this, he gets one of my Captains who was left on board Sick, and seventy private Soldiers, with some of his own Seamen, and about a 100 Men out of two *Jamaica* Privateers, who were come into the Fleet on the plundering Account; and landing this Detachment; being about 400 Men, they marched up to attack this House, but the Gentleman who own'd the Plantation, appeared not ready to defend his House only; but drew up his Men before his Gate, and offered them Battle, upon which the Commadore and his Army thought fit to retire without attempting any thing; and this is the true History of their landing 400 Men to assist us.

Nor is there one Word of Truth in their being opposed by an Ambuscade, and their destroying the Enemies Plantations to the very Fort it self, other than this, that the Seamen did rove all along the Coast after their usual undisciplin'd manner, robbing and plundering all that came in their way, where there was none to resist; but if they met  
with

with any opposition, their Business was plundering, not fighting; they always took care to make off to their Ships.

Four or five Days after this, the Army being come within two Leagues of *Port de Paix*, the Gentleman that defended the House against the Seamen, finding that he should not only be overpowered, but cut off from the Fort; abandon'd his House, leaving the four Pieces of Cannon, and made the best of their Way with what Goods they thought fit to save, into the Fort; and as they past through the little Town of *Port de Paix*, they set it on fire; *Willmot* having intelligence of the retreat of this Gentleman, landed his Men the next Morning, and very manfully plundered the House, and set it on Fire.

Soon after this, says Mr. *Burchet*, the *Commadore* had notice that the Army had straggled up near *Port-de-Paix*.

I cannot but suppose, this is a Phrase of Mr. *Burchet's* own, for I am fully perswaded he cannot produce one Voucher for this Intelligence: For, first of all, the *Commadore* had the first Notice from our selves, and we should hardly ha' given such an Account of our selves: And, secondly, The Enemy was not so inconsiderable that we durst suffer our Men to straggle at all, but made a very regular March, tho' 'twas also a very hard March both for Officers and Soldiers.

I hope I shall not be accused of too much  
Vanity,

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Vanity, I having served in the *English* Army under so great a Master of War, as his late Majesty for 32 Years, and never received his Censure ; I may pretend to understand the Business of a Soldier a little better, than to let my Men straggle in an Enemy's Country, and therefore I think fit to set down here, the Order I issued out for our Discipline in the whole Expedition ; and I must own, that the Soldiers not only knew their Duty, but observ'd it as became them ; and as I was an Eye-Witness, I think, I owe it to the Service they all did, and to declare that both Officers and Soldiers behaved themselves with great Conduct, as well as Bravery ; and in all the March, I found no occasion to punish a Man for the breach of these Orders ; the Orders are as follows,

*General Orders to be observed by the Land and Sea-Officers in the present Expedition.*

1<sup>st</sup>, ' **W**hen the Signal for landing shall  
' be given, each Company  
' shall follow their Colonel's Colours,  
' which will be placed in the Stern of the  
' Boat that leads, that in rowing ashore  
' each Regiment may keep close toge-  
' ther.

' and



*IIldly*, ' Each Regiment shall send an Officer  
' to attend the Commander in chief upon  
' landing, to carry necessary Orders to the  
' respective Regiments or Detachments;  
' who are, if possible, to be mounted on  
' Horse-back.

*IIIldly*, ' Upon landing each Regiment, or  
' Detachment, shall draw up six deep,  
' leaving, the usual Interval between them,  
' and the preceding Regiment, when  
' they draw up in a Line of Battle; one  
' Captain, one Lieutenant, one Ensign;  
' and the fourth part of the Serjants shall  
' be posted in the Rear of each Regi-  
' ment.

*IVthly*, ' That no Regiment or Detachment  
' quit their Posts, or advance upon their  
' Enemy without order; and that no Of-  
' ficer, or Soldier, either in Camp, or up-  
' on a March, or in Quarters, go above  
' Musket-shot from their respective Quar-  
' ters aforesaid, without leave of the  
' commanding Officer.

*Vthly*, ' That all Officers take care to keep  
' their Soldiers Arms clear and fixt; and  
' that none be permitted to fire at any  
' Cattle, Hogs, or Poultry, upon pain  
' of running the Gantlet; but that the  
' Ammunition delivered to them may be  
' preserved.

*VIthly*, ' That the Officer commanding at  
' the head of the Regiment, when they  
F ' come

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‘ come to engage the Enemy in a Body;  
 ‘ must order their Men to keep their  
 ‘ Arms shoulder’d, till they come with-  
 ‘ in twenty Paces of the Enemy, and at  
 ‘ Ten Paces to give fire; and then hav-  
 ‘ ing given their Discharge, to fall on  
 ‘ with Sword in Hand, or Club Musket;  
 ‘ and in case it shall please God we rout  
 ‘ the Enemy; not above one half are  
 ‘ to pursue, and the remainder to fol-  
 ‘ low in good Order.

VIIthly, ‘ That no Officer, or Soldier,  
 ‘ do on pain of Death, quit their Post or  
 ‘ Rank to plunder, during the time of  
 ‘ Action against the Enemy; until such  
 ‘ time the Officer commanding in chief  
 ‘ shall give Orders for it.

VIIIthly, ‘ None on pain of Death shall  
 ‘ presume to Fire, Plunder, or break  
 ‘ open, any Church or Chappel; or en-  
 ‘ ter the same, until they have first given  
 ‘ notice to the Commander in chief; and  
 ‘ the Regiment or Detachment which  
 ‘ shall be, on their March, in quarters,  
 ‘ or posted, next to any Church or Chap-  
 ‘ pel aforesaid; shall be obliged to set a  
 ‘ Safeguard on the same, not to be drawn  
 ‘ off without leave of the Commander in  
 ‘ chief; likewise no Officer or Soldier  
 ‘ shall strip, or abuse any Priest, but to  
 ‘ send them with a Guard to the Com-  
 ‘ mander in chief.

IXthly,

*IXthly*, That the Articles of War, be read  
 ‘ at convenient times to every Com-  
 ‘ pany of this present Expedition, that  
 ‘ no violence be offered to Women  
 ‘ or Children belonging to the Enemy ;  
 ‘ nor any person whatsoever kill any of  
 ‘ the Enemy in cold Blood, or after  
 ‘ quarters given them.

*Xthly*, That notice be given to the Soldi-  
 ‘ ers, and Sea-Men, that shall Land, to be  
 ‘ obedient, and pay due respects to  
 ‘ all Officers belonging to the present Ex-  
 ‘ pedition. Dated on board the *Jefferies*,  
 ‘ this 2 day of *May*, Anno 1695.

### LUKE LILLINGSTON.

We came before the Fort the 13th of *June*,  
 and the first thing we did was to send a De-  
 tachement of 250 *Spaniards*, with one of  
 their Officers and an *English* Sergeant, to get  
 news of the Fleet: they Marcht along the  
 Coast, and at last found the Fleet at Anchor,  
 before the great House which the *French*  
 Gentleman Abandon'd, as it is before Not-  
 ed.

The *English* Man acquainted *Wilmot* with  
 the Armies Arrival before the Fort, and ac-  
 cording to his Orders desir'd the Commia-  
 dore to come to their assistance, letting him  
 know the want we were in of Provisions and  
 of Bread in particular: he promised to come

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before the place with his Ships the next Morning, but stay'd two days before he came, tho' the Weather was very fair.

In this Interval, I Employed our Men in settling the Posts, and viewing the Fort; and the *Spanish* Generals going with me, we view'd the Ground about it, and fixt upon proper places for our Batteries, for our Guards, and a place for the Landing our Cannon, and Ammunition.

At the End of two days still waiting for the Fleet, came Captain *Wilmot* and about 400 Men with him, but had left his Ships in their former Station ——— on the ——— part of the Island.

The Fort stands on a small Bay of the Sea, with very good riding for Ships, and a large Plat-form before it, on which is planted about 40 pieces of heavy Cannon: The Fort it self is large, and very regularly Fortified, with 5 Bastions the Ramparts very well made and Fac'd with Brick: it contains about 12 Acres of Ground and is defended on one side by the Sea, on another side by a small Creek, into which the Sea flows, and serves the Fort as a Mote; a steep Hill defends it on the Land side which being slop'd from the Foot of the Curtain, serves as a Glacis to the whole: The Fort stands on the slope of this Hill to the Sea; on the East side the Curtain is run on Irregular to a greater length than in any other part, and is so well lin'd, that tho' it

be



be at least twenty Foot high, on the one side it is but as a Breast-work within, being not too high for the Foot to stand on the *Terra Firma*, and Fire over: this part of the Fort is in a manner Impregnable, for beside the height of the Parapet, the Creek serves it for a Mote, into which the Sea continually flows, and is too deep and broad to be filled up: At the end of this work there is a large Platform, with 12 Brass Cuns, which Flank the Shore and range the whole breadth of the Bay.

From the West end of this the Hill rising, the Wall or Curtain rises with it, but so within the edge of the Hill that there is a large Esplanade on the top of the Hill before the line, about 40 Foot wide, on the edge of the Hill without this Plain is a Breast-work defended by a Palisado, and the steep of the Hill being so sloped that no Man can get up, this serves the Fort as a Counterscarp, and beginning at the Creek or Mote aforesaid goes round the Fort, to the West side; there were two several ways made up this steep by steps cut in the Hill, and these ways led into the Fort, at small Ports made in the Curtain, three of the Bastions were in this part of the work with a Rampart for planting their Guns, so as to Flank the Curtain and scour the plain between the line and the Counterscarp.

In the middle of the Fort was a large

F 3

Tower

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Tower which they call'd the Castle, and upon the flat of the Tower Six Guns.

On the West-side of the Fort, there was a large Ravelin to defend the Port, very well provided with Guns, and which receiv'd the point of the pallisadoed Breast-work; and from thence the Breast-work falling as the Hill declin'd, continued to the Sea again, and was there joyn'd to several large Batteries, answering to those on the East side of the Bay as before.

The Governour liv'd in the Tower which they called the Castle, and the Walls of this Tower were extraordinary thick, and from this Tower a Wall crost both ways Traversing the Diameter of the Fort, so that it serv'd instead of a Retrenchment, that if an Enemy had entred the Fort on the Land side, this might be defended, or at least serve the Garrison as a Retreat, till they could either capitulate or escape on Board any Ships they had in the Road.

This is the Fort we were to besiege: we were in all about 2500 Men, Fatigu'd with a hard March, had neither Bread nor provisions, for our subsistence, nor our train of Artillery, or any Instruments proper for our Siege; and therefore our first work was to send for the Commadore, who, as I said before came at last to us with about 500 Seamen with him, arm'd with Musquets and in good Order.

I was very glad to see him, and especially to see him come so strong, and began to think he was now in earnest, and resolv'd to do the Duty which the Service required of him, so I bid him welcome, and told him I was glad he had brought me so much help.

Then I summon'd the *Spanish* Officers to a Council of War; but when they were come, the Commadore refus'd to hold any Council of War with us on Shore, I suppose because he knew he must not preside there, and he could not bear to have the *Spaniards* think he was not the head Commander. He told me he would agree to such and such things, but he would sign to nothing, the *Spaniards* wondred at this, and so indeed did I, and we made use of all possible Arguments to perswade him but to no purpose, so we proceeded without him; and the first thing we resolv'd on, was to send a Summons, to the Governour to surrender the Fort, the Summons was sent in my name only to this Effect.

That I was sent thither by his Majesty *William* the III. King of *England*, to reduce the said Fort and Garrison to the Obedience of his Majesty, and his Confederates, and that therefore I demanded of him to surrender the said Fort with all the Guns Amunition, &c. and upon so doing I offered to give him Honourable and Soldier like Conditions.

This message was delivered to the Gover-

nour by a Drummer, and at first the Governour gave a short haughty Answer, the Drummer told him he did not understand what he said, and therefore desir'd an answer in Writing, which the Governour agreed to, and sent the following Answer in Writing, but without his name.

*N*Ous Lieutenant pour le Roi au gouvernement de la Cortueë & côte de St. Domingue declarons à Monsieur Lillingston Chevalier, que nous sommes serviteurs du Roi de France, & ses sujets naturels, & nous conserverons une fidelité inviolable à sa Majesté, étant préparés à tous les Evenemens du sort des armes pour son service, au fort du port de paix le 25 Juin 1695.

*in English thus.*

We the Kings Lieutenant of the Coast of St. Domingue to Mr. Lillingston Chevalier (*or Knight which was his mistake.*)

Declaring that we are the Servants of the King of France, and his natural born Subjects and are resolv'd to preserve an Inviolable Loyalty, to his Majesty, being prepar'd to hazard all Events for his Service.

*From Port de Paix, June 25. 1695.*

The



The Governour's Name was Monsieur *Du Casse*, Governour of the Island; and this was from his Lieutenant or Deputy Governour, then Commanding in the Fort; he was call'd Monsieur *La Bosluet*, but he did not set his Name to the Answer.

Captain *Willmot* stay'd with us till the Return of the Drummer, and saw the answer which he sent back; and tho' he would not assist at the Council of War, yet when we had debated the Governour's Answer, and resolv'd to prepare for an Attack, and to that End concluded that the Cannon and Mortars should forthwith be Landed together with proportioned Ammunition and stores, Captain *Willmot* told us, they should be Landed the next day.

The place agreed on by us to raise the Battery, was on the West-side of the Fort, on a rising Ground, which Commanded the Curtain and Breast-work, and therefore that the Cannon might be brought as near as possible by Sea, we having no Horses to draw them, we directed the Landing them at an Old Chappel, which lay by the Sea-side, not half a Furlong from the Hill, where we design'd to raise the Battery.

All this the Commadore, Captain *Willmot*, promis'd should be done, and that 400 Seamen should be sent to joyn me, for these he brought with him he said were only for his guard, and must go back with him, I told

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told him if he wou'd asist me with 400 Seamen, he might as well leave them with me now, as go back and send them; and as for his Guard, there was no need of any, and if I were to have gone so far with him, I should have been content with a Sergeant and two files of Musqueteers, since both my Camp and the *Spaniards* were between him and the Enemy.

But Captain *Willmot* had another reason for bringing so strong a Guard with him; for knowing what he had done at *Cape Francois*, how ill he had treated us, and how the Soldiers resented it, he was affraid of our Men, and for that reason came so well Guarded; however taking no notice of this, he replied, the Men were not provided, their Cloaths and Linnen was on Board.

But, smiling, he takes me by the Hand, and leading me aside he told me he wanted to speak with me; and now he shew'd himself in his own Colours the second time, and made his last attempt to bring me over to him: he told me, he would comply with all the Orders of our Council of War, and assist me with all the Men he could spare, and do every thing he could to forward the Service, if I would but joyn with him in one thing, and allow a Second.

The first was, that I should consent to his having an equal Share of the Plunder with me,

me, in case the Fort should be taken.

To this I made him no Answer, but ask'd him what was his second Proposal.

*Why, says he, If you will joyn with me, when the Fort is taken, and all done that can be done on the Island, we will carry these three Spanish Men of War away with us to Jamaica; for, says he, the Dogs have got a great many of the Negroes, and other Plunder: And if you will consent, says he, we'll make them pay us well before we part with them.*

Now, indeed, I could not but remember my Promise to the King, of agreeing with such a Fellow as this; however, I did not seem moved, tho' really I was provok'd to the highest Extremity, at so villainous a Proposal; but suppressing my Resentments, I told him, *I found no such thing in my Instructions from the King. 'Tis no Matter for that, says the Commodore, we are a great way off of England, and it may be long enough before the News of it will come there; we may make it well worth our while, and may easily make it up when we come home; I told him, I could not concern my self in such a thing, unless the Spaniards gave us some just Occasion. Occasion says he, there is occasion enough, they have got away our Negroes, and 'tis easy enough to pick a hole in their Coats on that account, and answer it at home too: I do not understand, said I, that they have any more of the Negroes than come to their Shares, 'twould*  
be

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*be a very base Action; and I am not weary of the King's Favour, or of his Service, and therefore I cannot joyn in it; well says he, I see you'll agree to nothing; you may take your Course, and I'll take mine;* so away he flung from me, and commanded his Men to Arms, at his going away. I desir'd him to hasten the Cannon on Shoar, according to Order, which he told me should be done; this was the 15th day of June.

This was the Account which Mr. Burchet begins thus, P. 319.

*Soon after this, the Commadore had notice that the Army was straggled up to Port de Paix, whereupon he landed again, the like Number of Seamen as before, in Order to joyn them; (that is) brought 400 Seamen with him for his Guard, for fear the Soldiers should affront him, but refus'd to leave them with us, but carryed them every Man back again the next Day.*

And, says Mr. Burchet, but without any Authority, *the next Day put on Shoar the Cannon and Mortars.*

If he had said, promis'd to do it the next Day, he had said right; but never was such a piece of Management by any Officer, that had the least Design to serve his King and Country.

For the Delays were such, and the Treatment we all met with from him such, that I was asham'd the Spaniards should see how his



his Majesty of *England* was serv'd.

In order therefore, to give the World a full and satisfactory Answer to this most scandalous Forgery ; whether it be Mr. *Burchet's* or no, I do not determine. It will be necessary to be a little more particular than Ordinary in the Relation, both of the manner how we were supplied with what we wanted to carry on this Siege, and with what Difficulty every thing was obtained, in which, I dare say, the Reader will be convinc'd, that we had more Difficulties and Troubles, and lost more Men from the ill Treatment of the Commadore, and the Inconveniencies we were put to for procuring our Materials, than in the Siege it self.

On the 15th of *June*, the Commadore left us, with the Promise of sending the Cannon and Mortars on Shoar the next Day.

From thence to the 18th, we heard nothing at all from him, but then he sent some Powder and Ball on Shoar ; and in the Night, he sent three small Sakers, One Mortar, with a Wrong Bed, and One 24 Pounder, but the Carriages wanted their Lins-Pins and Harness, and the Carriage sent with the 24 Pounder, belonged to one of the 18 Pounders ; so that it had been all one as if he had sent me none at all.

Nor was this all, but instead of landing them by the *Old Chappel*, as it was directed ;  
they

they were put on Shoar two Miles off, in a place where the Boats could not fleet too, to the Land; but the flatness of the Shoar obliged them to land them in Three Foot Water.

Here we had them to fetch by meer strength of Hands, for we had no Horses, but a few *Spanish* Horses, who would Carry, but would not Draw; and between this place and our Camp was a Boggy Ground half a Mile over, which would not bear the Wheels.

All this willful Trouble he gave me, and here I was fain to set the whole Army to work to make Fascines, for making a Road over this Bog, a Bridge, indeed, it might be called; for we were first fain to cut down great Trees to lay under the Fascines, or else the weight of the Cannon would have sunk them into the Bog; and then, laying Planks upon the Fascines, we were obliged to guide the Wheels upon the Planks by Hand, and so by main strength to draw the Cannon; and if ev'r the Wheel slipt off from the Plank, it immediately sunk to the Axis, and the Piece was fain to be Dismounted.

This cost me the labour of 12 Days, and so overtoiled the Men, that many of them fell Sick, and several died.

But this was not all: The time which was lost before the Guns were sent, was enough to have taken the very Fort it self; and as  
this

this was known to all the Army, I wonder at the Assurance of those Men, that can publish to the World, that they were sent the next Day; and, then, that we did not take care to Mount them.

First, as has been already noted; three days were spent before he brought them at all, and during this time; I had order'd Capt. *Lilly* our Ingeneer, with 200 Men, to raise a Battery, in order to plant the Guns when they should come.

Our Commissary General was Mr. *John Murray*, and Captain *Lilly* our Engineer, and that these should not want their necessary Orders for delivering and preparing every thing necessary, I had before I left the Ship, signed the following Order.

First, I issued an Order to the Commissary, about having the six Field-pieces in a readiness, in these Words.

*You are hereby directed and required, forthwith to issue out the Orders, that the six Sakers belonging to the Train of Artillery, with Shot, Powder, and all other Appurtenances thereunto belonging, be in a Readiness against what time I shall have Occasion to make use of them: Dated on board the Jeffries in Samana Bay, April 26th 1695.*

To *John Murray* Esq;  
Commiss. Gen.

*L. Lillington.*  
And

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And that the Commissary might not scruple delivering necessary Stores to the Engineer, for our Occasion; I gave him an Order in general, that he might not be obliged to come to me for an Order, every time he wanted any thing necessary; the Order is as follows.

*You are hereby desired and required, to deliver to Capt. Christian Lilly, or his Order, whatsoever necessary Stores belonging to the Train of Artillery he shall from time to time demand, taking his Receipt for what you shall so deliver. Dated on Board the Jeffries in Samana Bay, this 14th Day of May, 1695.*

L. L.

Altho' Capt. *Willmot* our Commadore, had promised the Artillery, yet seeing they did not come the next Morning, I did not know but the Commissary General might expect an Order from me, which I wrote as follows,

*Sir, I desire the six Sakers which were appointed to be sent on Shoar to Day, may be sent to Morrow-Night, and six Battering-Pieces the next day; we are making Fascines for the Batteries, and if you send the four Days Provison also, agreed on, it will be wanted to Morrow at three a Clock.*  
Capt.



*Capt. Lilly will tell you what quantity of Powder and Ball will be necessary for the Cannon.*

From the Camp before Port  
de Paix, June 16. 1695.

L. L.

Part of the Cannon having been brought on Shore, but with so much Disorder as is already observed.

On the 19th of June I wrote the following Letter to Mr. Murray, about the Negligence of his Men, in sending wrong Carriages for the Guns, and leaving behind necessary things; the Letter was as follows,

SIR,

I Am very much surpris'd to find so many things wanting which belongs to the Cannon, for you sent two Sakers and no Ball; pray send all the Saker Ball that you have, the Lynch-pins of the Carriages are also wanting, and the Men's Harness, for the *Spanish* Horses will not Draw, if we had had the Lynch-pins, Harness, and Ball, we had put this day the Guns upon the Platform: Pray do not fail to send all things that are necessary in time, that there may be no time neglected in attacking

G

ing

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ing the Fortrefs, for we give the Enemy  
too much time: In haft I am, Sir,

*Your humble Servant,*

Luke Lillingston.

And as I have already taken notice, that the Boats brought the Provifon on Shoar at improper places, by which we were put to great Inconveniencies; I fent the following Letter to the Commiffary.

*Whereas the Boats do not land the Stores at places fitting for the Carriage of them from, whereby we have been prevented for two days, from bringing the same up to the Camp.*

*You are hereby directed and required, to take care that all Boats are ordered to Land the Stores they shall bring on Shoar, at the place where the Guns were landed, and that no Boat land any Stores elfewhere. Dated at the Camp before Port de Paix, June 20th 1695.*

To John Murray Esq;  
Commiffary Gen.

Luke Lillingston.

*You are to defire the Commadore, that he will order a Long-boat and Pinnace to attend at the Landing-place every day, for what Occasions may offer.*

*You are hereby directed and required, forthwith to order the four heavy Cannon with Shot, and all other Conveniences to them, belonging-*

to

to the West-Indies.

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to be in readiness to be Landed to Morrow-Night, Dated at the Camp before Port de Paix, June 20th 1695.

To John Murray Esq;  
Commissary Gen.

Luke Lillingston.

Still the rest of the heavy Cannon was not come on Shore, and having sent so many Messages and Letters about it to no purpose, I ordered Captain Lilly to Write to Mr. Murray as follows.

*You are hereby Required, Pursuant to Colonel Lillingston's Order of this Day, to deliver four Brass twenty four Pounders with their Carriages compleat, Amunition, &c. Necessaries thereunto belonging to Mr. Harris Bombardier, who is hereby impowered to give you a Receipt for the same. Dated at the Camp of Port de Paix, this 20th Day of June 1695.*

To Mr. John Murray Commissary  
of Amunition &c.

Chr. Lilly.

All these Orders were yet Fruitless; whereupon I wrot the following Letter to the Commissary General, Dated the 22th of June.

Mr. Murray,

*I am sorry you should do any thing that should any ways Impede his Majesties Service,*

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we having met with those Obstructions, for want of supply of things necessary, that unless you will take care to supply me, according to order, more readily than you have hitherto done, it is in vain for me to pretend any further to proceed: we have these two Days waited for the four 24 Pounders, which had we had, had now bin mounted and in Service: the Carrages you have already sent, are so ill sorted that we can hardly any ways fit them for Service. I can have no Boats to attend for Orders, although I have pressed for the same, and those Boats that bring any Stores a Shore Land them in scch inconvenient places, that it is impossible to send for them up: and unless you will take care for the future, the Boats land their Stores where the Guns were first landed, I shall not give my self the unnecessary trouble of sending for them, I wonder you should refuse to deliver any of the Train Stores, to Captain Lilly or his Order; I having formerly bin positive in my order to you to deliver any of the said Stores to him or his Order. I have wrot to the Commadore, for a Pinnace to attend always upon what Occasions may offer; but I find not that he takes any notice of it, so I desire that you will take some care about it. The Sloop that brought Provisions a Shore will not come round the point, and I have no Long-boat to unlade her; so that unless some better care be taken, it is in vain for me to send for any thing a Shore. As for the Boats belonging to the Transports, I think no body hath anything to do



do to order them about any other thing when I have occasion for their attendance, I hope you will see all rectified, and am.

Your humble Servant,

From the Camp before Port de  
Paix, June 22. 1695.

For John Murray Esq; Commissary  
Gen. there.

Luke Lillingston.

Captain Lilly had demanded stores of the Commissary for the Train, as by Order above mentioned, I had given him in general; but going now for such particular things as were wanting, he refus'd them; whereupon I Wrot him another Order, and therein a renew'd Order for the four peices of heavy Cannon, &c.

But the Cannon being still delayed I call'd a Council of War, and among other things, caused an Order to be made there for the four Pieces and thereby let them see I was resolv'd to clear my self of all blame in Case of miscarriage, and I caused the Order of the Council of War to be sent them on Board, which is as follows.

At a Council of War held at the Camp before Port de Paix this 23d of June, 1695.  
Present,

Colonel Luke Lillingston President,	
Major Lillingston,	Captain Coningsby.
Captain Green,	Captain Lilly Ingenier.

THat it is requisite for the Kings Service,  
to have four Brass Ordnance of Twenty four  
Pounders,

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*Pounders, and one Mortar, with their Carriages, and a proportion of Ammunition, as it is required, be forthwith landed, in order with the Cannon already Landed to batter the Town with all speed; and that for the better dispatch of the same, the Commadore be forthwith required to order all the long Boats to attend this Landing, and a Pinnace to be constantly a Shore, to carry the necessary orders; and that in Case the said Commadore doth not assist us with the said Boats, or should refuse, that in such Case the Collonel is obliged to protest against him, of all the Retardments and Inconveniences that may ensue.*

Luke Lillingston.

G. Lillingston.

Hum. Coningsby.

Nath. Green.

Chr. Lilly.

As the Difficulty of obtaining our Cannon was thus great, so was it also very troublesome to us to get our Provisions: for as the Country was no way able to furnish us with any thing, but that our own Stores were on Board the *Transport*, the Officers propos'd at a Council of War, that there might be a quantity brought on Shore together, and a Magazine erected on Shore, and some proper person appointed to deliver it out to the Men. The Orders of the Council of War was as follows.

At

At a Council of War held at the Camp before Port De Paix, June 19. 1695.

Resolv'd,

**T**hat whereas the distance of our Shipping from us, makes it very troublesome to be always sending for what we have from time to time occasion for, here being a convenient place for a Store-house, where all necessaries may be brought nearer to hand, it is thought requisite for his Majesties Service, and much for the Ease and Preservation of the Soldiers, that John Murray Esq; Commissary General, do forthwith make a general Store on Shore.

This Order I sent to Mr. Murray with the following Letter: but he prompted by the Commadore refused to obey this Order: The Letter was as follows.

**W**hereas the Transport Ships rides three Leagues distance from Port De Paix, before which place the Land Forces are at present, in order to besiege it, and that it is impossible for the Soldiers to fetch their Provisions so far, without prejudicing his Majesty's Service.

You are hereby directed and required to land four Thousand Eight Hundred Pounds of Bread, Eight hundred peices of Beef, and twelve hundred Pounds of Cheshire Chese, being Eight days Provisions for six hundred Men, in order to be distributed by our Officers as occa-

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*sion shall require, for the lodging of which provisions you shall be provided with a House for your Stores, and all possible assistance necessary thereunto belonging: and for your so doing, this will be your sufficient Warrant. Dated at the Camp before Port De Paix the 19 Day of June, 1695.*

To Mr. Murray Commissary  
of Provisions, &c.

Chr. Lilly.

**YOU** are hereby ordered and directed to deliver to Mr. Harris, such Stores as he shall judge necessary for the Ordnance and Mortar Pieces: and this shall be your Warrant. Given this 19. Day of June 1695.

To Mr. Murray  
Commissary

Luke Lillingston.

All these Letters, Orders, Councils of War, and Importunities could not yet prevail upon our Commissary, *Who was now wholly acted by the Commadore*, to send the Battering Pieces; and we stood all this while looking at one another, like Men that did not know our business: it was now ten Days, being the 25th of June, since the Commadore had promised to send them, and none was yet come but those 3 Sakers, and one 24 pounder, which came at first; and we began to despair of our Enterprize: upon which I prest him again by another Letter dated the 25th June as follows.

Sir,



Sir,

*I thought that an order from a Council of War, Signed by my self and the rest of the Officers, had been sufficient for Landing the heavy Cannon, and the other Morter; and I cannot see why it was refused, unless, as is too plainly seen in that, and almost all other things that concern the present Service, it is purely done to retard the perfecting our Designs: there never was any orders for Landing the two 18 Pounders, nor sending any Sakers (which I stand in need off:) but what you think fitting to do, you can do without Order; but things most necessary to be complied with, you refuse, although the Demands are backt with the strongest Orders, which I look upon the Order of a Council of War to be. Besides you have had a general Order from me to deliver any of the Train Stores upon Captain Lilly's Demand. The neglect of the Boats attendance here a Shore I cannot get rectified, although I have prest you and the Commadore more than once for the same: Pray let my Orders be complied with, and if it had so been from our first coming hither, and the Commadore would have given me what reasonable assistance I required, I question not but the Enemies Fortress had now been in our hands. I am*

*Your Humble Servant,*

*From the Camp before  
Port de Paix, June 25. 1695. Luke Lillingston.  
For John Murray Esq;  
Commissary Gen. there.*

*Pray deliver the  
Inclosed according  
to Direction.*

*After*

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After all those Importunities at last, *viz.* the 26th of *June* the Pieces were sent, but with them no Tackle to hoist up the Guns, and one of the Carriages which were sent with the 24 Pounders, belong'd to an 18 Pounder, and consequently was useless; and this occasion'd the loss of four Days more, and several Letters to the Commissary as follows.

*These are to advise you that one of the Carriages that was landed the last Night was for an 18 Pounder; and should have been a 24 Pounder Carriage, so pray let the same be changed for one fit for Service, and you will oblige.*

*Your Humble Servant,*

From the Camp before *Port de Paix*,  
*June 25. 1695. For John Murray* Luke Lillingston.  
*Esq; Commissary Gen.*

*Sir,*

*I Wrot to you Yesterday concerning the Mistake of landing an 18 Pounder Carriage instead of a 24 Pounder: I am forced to repeat the same again, to let you know that I must needs have a 24 Pounder Carriage landed this Afternoon, by three or four of the Clock at the farthest; and if you fail herein, you will very much retard the Service. So pray use all Expedition, and oblige,*

*Your Humble Servant,*

From the Camp before *Port de Paix*, *June 26, 1695.*  
*For John Murray, Esq; Comis-* Luke Lillingston.  
*sary Gen. these.*  
 Pray send a Luff Tackle with the Carriage, for we want one very much.

*Whereas*

*Whereas we have been very much Incommo-  
ded in getting up the Guns for want of  
Ship Tackle,*

*You are hereby directed and required forthwith  
to send a Shore a Ship Tacle, with three double  
Blocks, and three snatch Blocks, and to what  
else to the same belongeth. Dated at the Camp  
before Port Paix, June 27 1695.*

To *John Murray Esq;*  
Commissary Gen.

Luke Lillingston.

By all these Letters it will easily Appear,  
how not only I am injured but all the rest  
of the Gentlemen have been abused in the  
most unprecedented method of Mr. *Burchet's*  
History, wherein all this is forgot or O-  
mitted, and a story impos'd upon the World,  
to believe that the Cannon was landed  
the next Day, and that we were all this  
while before the Fort doing nothing, but ne-  
glected to mount them upon the Batteries.

And that Mr. *Burchet* nor no Man else may  
be able to say, that all these Letters may  
or may not have been sent, and may since  
be form'd, tho' I think there are so many liv-  
ing Witnesses of it, that I need not bring  
Vouchers for them, yet I take the Freedom  
to assure the World and him, that these  
Letters are not Printed from my own Co-  
ples

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pies, but from the very Originals found by Commissary Lewis, among Mr. Murray's papers after he was Dead, and the Copys of them attested by Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Lewis's Character and vouching witnessed and recommended by Sr. William Beeston, his Majesties Governour of Jamaica, before whom it was done as follows:

The particulars aforesaid are true Copies, the Originals whereof I find among the Papers belonging to John Murray Esq; late Commissary Gen. as Witness my hand at St. Jago De-La-Veija, this 3d Day of December 1695.

Samuel Lewis Commissary

*I do hereby certifie that Samuel Lewis, Esq; is in the place of Mr. Murray deceased, that he has what Papers he could Collect of Mr. Murray's, that he is a Gent. to whom Faith and Credit may be given, and that therefore what he has here certified I believe to be truth: in Testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand,*

*At St. Jago de la Veija  
in Jamaica, this 3d  
day of Decemb. 1695.*

Will. Beeston.



Having thus, I think, sufficiently clear'd my self of the reproach this unwary Gentleman has cast upon me and my fellow Souldiers, I think it not improper to let the World know what was the meaning of all this, for the Commodore had all along some design, and now it appear'd thus.

He fancy'd certainly we should take the Fort, and was very uneasie to think that we should have all the Plunder to our selves, and having offer'd to Capitulate with me about the Plunder, as was before observ'd, and I having refused, was all this while taking his measures about it; he knew I could not take it without Guns to batter it, and in the interim of all these Letters, he removes with the Fleet to the Westernmost part of the Bay, and landing his Men, falls to work with the Fort by himself, brings some of his Ship Guns on Shoar, and raises a Battery, such a one as it was, and in such a place as it was, for it he had made a Breach, they could not come at it to make an Assault.

I had in the beginning of the Siege desired the Commodore to assist us with 500 Seamen, which he promised to do, but having fail'd to perform it, I writ him the following Letter.

H

S I R,

S I R,

**I**T was one part of the Kings Instructions to me, that at what time I landed in the Enemy's Country, if (occasion required) I should be assisted by you with four hundred Men, (the Men so landed, to be as much under my Command, as those of my own Regiment,) now those that landed the Cannon have done it so inconveniently, that both the Spaniards and my own People, are quite tired in bringing up those that we have, so that it is impossible for us to get up the rest of the Guns, and fix the Mortars on the Batteries without some farther assistance. Wherefore I do desire and require that you will immediately assist me with a hundred and fifty Seamen, and Officers with them, for the carrying on of his Majesty's Business, without which assistance it is impossible for me to proceed any farther. You were pleased to land a considerable number of your People separate from me, to act by themselves, who had they join'd us, I question not but our affair had been perfected ere this; and whereas you have formerly objected the disagreement betwixt the Soldiers and the Seamen, to remove that objection, I do assure you it shall be my particular Care and Orders, that the Seamen shall in all things be as much or more favoured than the Souldiers: I pray a line or two in Answer, and am

From the Camp before  
 Port de Paix, June 28.  
 1695.  
 To Capt. Roi Wilmet, &c.

Your Humble Servant,

L. I.  
 But

But hearing what the Cominodore was a doing, in order to help us, as he pretended, and which account Mr *Burcher* speaks of to his advantage, I sent the following Letter to him.

S I R,

I Understand you are landed with a considerable force distant from us, I am sorry you should do any thing so repugnant to the Kings Interest, as most of your proceedings have been since our coming hither; for had you assisted me with four or five hundred Men, according to my request, and (I think) the Kings Instructions, and had granted what furtherance in landing of Stores I required, I question not but we had now been Masters of the Enemy's Fortress: it hath been no small inconveniency the want of Boats, and I am sure I have not been wanting in pressing your self immediately, and Mr Murray to be your Remembrancer, to assist me both with Boats and Hands. I am constrained once more to desire the assistance of Men sufficient for landing the heavy Cannon, and the reinforcing of me here. I am

Your Humble Servant,

From the Camp before  
Port de Paix, June 25.

1695.

To Capt. Rob. Wilmet, &c.

L. I.

H 2

But

But the Commodore went on, and carried on his Works in such a ridiculous manner, that I must say, had the Enemy been no otherwise besieged, they had never been taken; they made no Batteries but on a little loose Earth, which the Enemies Cannon presently beat about their Ears.

To make his design seem something justifiable, he calls a Council of War among his own Officers, without summoning me or any of my Officers to it, which was directly against his Instructions; at this Council of War they impeach our proceedings as dilatory, while we were every minute haunting them with Messages for our Materials, as I think has been already made out.

The Knavery of their design was apparent, and we were forward to make it more so; but we also made ourselves merry with the folly and ridiculous proceedings of their Men, without order, and out of all manner of Discipline, without Engineers, or any thing of method, and the success was accordingly.

As to their Council of War, I have inserted it here also, that it may appear how directly contrary it was to the truth of fact. By this order they broke into our Magazine of Arms, and took out 300 Fire-locks without my consent.

They pretended to charge us with neglect, and at the same time they knew we had neither our Guns nor Ammunition, nor did  
not



not design we should have any, till they had made their Experiments. Here follows the Extract of their proceedings at their Council of War.

At a Council of War, held on Board His Majesty's Ship *Dunkirk*, the 25th of June 1695. two Miles to the Westward of *Port de Paix*.

Capt. *Rob. Wilmot*, President;

Capt. *Hughes*.

Capt. *Butler*.

Capt. *Fletcher*.

Capt. *Moses*.

Capt. *Kenney*.

Capt. *Soule*.

**W**Hereas Coll. *Lillingston* hath been dilatory in mounting his Mortars and Cannon, notwithstanding they have been landed eight days, and the *Spaniards* seeing his delays, would have departed, had not they saw us using our endeavours to reduce the Fort; therefore it hath been thought reasonable, by a Council of War, to land out of His Majesty's Ships, five hundred Seamen, and also to land several pieces of Cannon for the sooner reducing the Fortress of *Port de Paix*. All which hath been performed with all the diligence possible, and have fired so much upon the Enemy that we have made them quit their Post at some of their great Cannon, and hope by the help of some heavier Cannon, that will be

mounted to night, to Batter the place so that it may be thought reasonable to attack the said Fortress. But have not Arms enough for the aforesaid Seamen, a sufficient number not being allowed to His Majesty's Ships, but we understanding that there is one thousand spare Arms in the Transport-Ships, for the use of the Souldiers, Capt. *Butler* hath been sent to Coll. *Lillingston*, to request the loan of three hundred Musquets, to enable us to reduce the said Garrison, which he hath absolutely refused, as well as several other things that would have much furthered His Majesty's service. We, this Present Council of War, do think it absolutely necessary for His Majesty's Service in this present Expedition, to order *John Murray* Esq; Commissary of the Stores, forthwith to deliver three hundred Musquets with Cartouch Boxes to our order for the aforesaid use, as also eight Hand Mortars, with three hundred Fuses and Shells; and also to supply the *Spaniards* with Bread according to the agreement with the President of *St Domingo*, which he now refuses to do, the said *Spaniards* being to pay fifteen Shillings *per* hundred.

These are therefore to require *John Murray*, Esq; Commissary of the Stores, to deliver as well the Premises aforesaid, to whom the Commander in Chief of the Squadron shall direct, as also what else shall be

be thought necessary for this present Expedition, and the Reducing to his Majesty's Obedience, the Fort and Fortrefs of *Port de Paix*, which we are now Besieging, this being the Result and Opinion of this present Council of War.

*Vera Copia.*

Rob. Wilmot.

Whoever pleases to compare the date of this Council of War, with the date of the Letters and Orders Issued by me for the sending away the heavy Cannon, will find that all the while, and the very day this Council was sitting, we were on shoar blowing our Fingers, and the Enemy laughing at us for want of our Cannon.

'Tis true, as by their Order of the Council of War, we had some Cannon on shoar, *viz.* three small Sakers, one 18 Pounder, and Mortar, and the Sakers were drawn to a little Hill by the Water side, the next day after they landed, being the 19th, from whence they could fire into the Fort, and had often thrown their Shot at random into the Fort, and killed them some Men and several Cattel; but we found this was not a Fort to be reduc'd with 3 Field-pieces of 6 pound Balls, and that piece of Cannon we then had, had the wrong Carriage, and the Mortar a wrong Bed, and all this while we

could never get the right, so that they were wholly useless; and at last I never could get but two 24 Pounders, one 18 Pounder, 3 Sakers and one Mortar, so that he kept just half my Artillery from me.

Well, as it was, the Commodore was resolv'd to try to carry the Fort without us, and accordingly brings the Fleet to the Westward of the Fort, and lands his Men, furnish'd with our Arms and Stores; and first, after their Sea Fashion, saluted the Garrison *with a great Huzza*, then they get their Cannon on shoar, and throwing up a little loose Earth, without either Fascines to hold it together, or Planks for their Guns, they plant their Cannon upon it to fire at the Fort.

The few Shot the Enemy made at them, presently demolished their Battery, as well it might, and render'd it useless, whereupon they send for more Guns, and then they went on, tho they never made any thing like a Breach; and if they had, the place was inaccessible, by reason the Sea lay between them and the Fort; that had the Garrison made any resistance at all, they might have beaten our whole Army off, if we had attempted to storm it there.

But I shall leave them at work and go on with our own proceedings at length with the delays and difficulties, I have already noted, and many more, we got our Cannon  
on



on Shore, and with intolerable Labour drew them to our Camp by strength of hand, over the Bog which I mentioned before, and surmounting all Difficulties with what patience we could, we planted our Cannon, and began to fire upon the Fort with six pieces of Cannon, four small Sakers, and two Mortars.

I cannot satisfy my self here without doing Justice to all the Men under my Command; who, both Officers and private Soldiers, behaved themselves with extraordinary cheerfulness in this fatigue; and what it was let any man judge, who knows the weight of a piece of Brass Cannon of 24 pound Ball, and what it is to draw it for half a mile by mens hands, over a narrow Causeway made with Timber and Fascines by the same hands, and this in so hot a Country; and not a Piece was drawn but what in spite of all our Conduct was fain to be dismounted several times, the Wheels slipping off from the loose Planks they went upon, and sinking in the Bog.

But with all this Difficulty we are now come to the Work, and our Cannon firing without intermission.

On the 29th of *June*, by break of day, we began to fire upon the Fort, and I order'd my Major to be upon the Battery, to see that they continued Firing without loss of time; and I also order'd the Captains  
every

every one in their turn to relieve the Major, and was often there my self.

The truth is, the extraordinary fatigue of drawing up the Guns had so harraſs'd my men, that a great many of them fell ſick, and the Commiſſary ſupplied them ſo ill with Proviſions, that he almoſt ſtarved us all. I had nothing for my ſelf, neither Bread nor Fleſh, for three or four days at one time; and had not I had ſome Chocolate which the *Spaniſh* General gave me, I had ſar'd very hard, I need not ſay that it muſt go very hard at the ſame time with the poor men: and this was the reaſon I ſent to the Commiſſary to erect a Store in the Camp, that we might not want, for he had Plenty enough on board for us, but he would not comply with it, till at laſt they were oblig'd to do it, or we had all been ſtarved.

And now I ſent like Orders, that an Hoſpital might be made on Shore, and Medicines, and Perſons proper ſent to take care of the ſick men, but they would not comply with this neither, till Captain *Green*, and the Apothecary General went and perſwaded them to it.

I had alſo frequently ſent to him for Men to help me to get the Guns on Shore, but to no purpoſe, and this expoſing my men to ſuch exceſſive Labour, was the loſs of a great many brave Mens lives.

I confess it griev'd me to see so many brave Fellows dye by being made use of for Horses, who if they had lost their Lives against the Enemy, had done their Country much better Service.

The 26th and 27th of *June*, all Night as well as Days, all the men in the Army, except the necessary Guards of the Camp, and a Reserve of 250 to relieve them, in case of Surprize; as well *Spaniards* as *English*, were employ'd in drawing these three Guns, and mounting them, and the *Spaniards* help'd us with a great deal of Cheerfulness.

Our Guns fir'd so briskly when they began, that the Metal began to run, but we spung'd and cool'd them as much as we could, and then continued.

The Enemy fir'd very hotly upon us from above 30 pieces of Cannon: Expecting, I suppose, our Battery had been made as the Seamen's was; but I had provided for that, for my Battery was so thick and so well made with Timber, Fascines and Earth, that their Shot lodg'd in it, without doing it any Damage.

There was six small pieces of Cannon, which the Enemy had on the flat of the Castle or Tower, which, as I noted, stood in the Middle of the Fort: These pieces incommoded us very much, being mounted so high: But our Gunners plyed their Work  
so

so well, that in three or four hours time they dismounted those Guns, and made the place too hot for the men to stand, there being no Cover from our Shot.

In three hours more they ceased firing from the middle Bastion, which lay between our Camp and the Tower aforesaid, on which was planted seven Guns, which either were disabled by our Shot, or the Defendants beaten from them, for our Guns sometimes being loaden with Cartridges of small Shot, we made it very hot standing for them.

There were three Guns on each side of the Bastion which we batter'd, planted on small Parapets rais'd for that purpose; these being below us we could fire directly upon them, and soon dismounted them.

Our three Sakers all this while play'd from the other side, which regarded the Body of the Fort, so that it made it very dangerous for any body to stir in the Fort, scowring all the Parade, from the Castle or Tower to the Sea-side.

During this time, Captain *Lilly*, with my Major and some *Spaniards*, were fitting our two Mortars.

About 11 at night we began to play with one of our Mortars, and threw several Bombs into the Fort; and now we began to find our work would succeed, for of the  
first



first Bombs we threw, two or three fell into the Castle, and breaking down thro' the roof or flat, made way to the bottom; what mischief they did we knew not, but heard an extraordinary crying out of the people. About an hour after, another Shell fell into a House, and there being several Barrels of Powder in it, the House blew up, and all that were in it, into the Air; and, as our Prisoners afterwards told us, there was a great many people blown up with that House.

The 30th, Captain *Lilly* had both his Mortars fixt, and play'd upon the Fort with them both; and about 2 a Clock another House blew up, with a great deal of Powder in it, for it gave a terrible blow; and there must be several people kill'd, for our men saw some blown up into the Air, and Limbs of others.

One of the Beds of the Mortars split the second day of its firing, so that it could not be made use of any more.

This night we continued to play with that Mortar which was left, and threw several Bombs in, and we found it did very good execution; but Captain *Lilly* found the Bed of this Mortar also was too weak, and began to give way, so he was cautious of firing it too often.

The last night in the dark, the Enemy planted seven Guns more upon the Bastion which

which lay next us, but we beat them from those Guns, and dismounted them in less than two hours.

Having thus beaten them from all their Guns except two, our Gunners batter'd the West side of the Bastion, in order to make a Breach : The Face of the Bastion being of Brick soon came down, but the Earth within requir'd much Battering to bring it to be assailable. The Cannon fir'd without intermission all day ; and then having loaded them with Partridge-shot, I caused them to fire at some distance all the night, to prevent the Defendants repairing the Breach.

This night our other Mortar split, so we were disabled as to throwing any more Bombs into the Fort.

I had also planted my Men in several advanc'd Posts, who kept firing with their Small Shot into the Breach all night, to prevent them coming to repair it.

I continued the Battery all the next day, being the 1st of *July*, with all imaginable fury, and had enlarg'd the Breach very much. At night I ordered the Musqueteers to fire as before.

I had held up as well as I could in my health, but the heat of the Weather and continual Service had reduc'd me to a very weak Condition ; and truly abundance of my Men were worse, to which our want of necessary

cessary Provision very much contributed.

On the second they continued the Battery, and with much ado I got out of my Tent to view the Breach, which I thought seem'd fit to be assaulted, and that the Men might make shift to storm it.

Hereupon I order'd the Gunners to fire upon the Breach with the 18 pounders only, and with the 24 pounders to batter the Breastwork and Pallisado. For, as I observ'd before, this Breastwork and Pallisado being made on the edge of the Hill, and the Hill it self very steep, there was no coming at the Breach till the Breastwork and Pallisado was beaten down, and the Hill made not so steep.

By one a Clock the Hill was very much broke, and the Earth being loose came easily down, so that the Men might march up the slope of it without any difficulty; and our Shot tore up the Breastwork and Pallisado for a great breadth, so the Breach in the Bastion lay quite open, and we began to prepare for a Storm.

Having all things ready to storm the Fort, I sent in a Drummer to summons the Governour to surrender; and to assure him, that if he would abide the last Extremity, I should not answer for what might be expected from the Souldiers; and that we should give them but very little Quarter, if they forc'd us to enter by Storm.

The

The Drummer who carried this Summons understood *French* very well, but was order'd not to discover that he could speak a word of it, that he might learn something from their Discourse what their Design was.

They receiv'd the Drummer very well, and immediately the Governour call'd his Officers together, to consult about their Answer: While the Consultation lasted the Drummer was Treated very handsomely, by the Governour's order; and among their Good Cheer they drank to him, and ask'd him if he could speak *French*? But the Fellow making no sign nor motion that he understood them, and constantly denying that he could speak *French*, they were very free in their Discourse, and he could easily perceive that neither the Officers nor the Chief Planters who were among them were for venturing an Attack, but complained to one another, that the Governour would hazard all.

At last the Drummer was dismiss'd with an answer, desiring a Cessation of Arms for 48 hours, to consider of the Proposals.

No Answer was return'd to this Demand, but from the Mouth of our Cannon, which I ordered to fire with more Fury than before, both against the Breach, and against the steep of the Hill, and continued it all this Day, and the small Shot all the Night, as before.

Early



Early the next Morning, being the 3d of July, I continued the Firing as before, and gave Directions to have 300 Granadoes, and their Fuzes filled, and all sorts of preparations for a Storm, and this I ordered should be done in the sight of some Prisoners we had in the Camp, and ordered the Officer to give some Prisoner or other an Opportunity to escape into the Fort. This was done so readily, that when one of the Prisoners demanded of the Centinel leave to go and ease himself; *Go if you will*, says the Centinel, *and you are a Fool if you come again*. The French man took the Fellow as he thought he meant, and went quite off.

This had the design'd Effect on the Garrison, tho' in a manner which we did not expect.

The next Morning about 2 of the Clock, we heard a great Volley of Musquets fired on the side of the Fort next the Sea, and after that another followed, with confused firing for about a quarter of an hour, being as we thought about the Quarter where Captain *Willmot* and his men carried on his Siege by himself.

I was so weak that I was not able to stand alone, and could not go out of my Tent; but the whole Camp being alarm'd, I order'd my Brother, Major *Lillingston*, to march with a Detachment of 250 men, *English and Spaniards*, to see what the

meaning of it was ; and all our Men stood to their Arms.

As soon as the Major came to the Seamen's quarters they were all in confusion, and several of them kill'd.

The Governour, expecting a General Storm, and resolving not to Surrender upon Articles, had packt up all they could carry with them, and resolv'd to sally with his whole Garrison, and fight his way through, and easily perceiving the Undisciplin'd Irregular Management of the Commodore and his men, concluded to make his Attempt there.

Accordingly in the dead of the night he fell in with their Main Guard, and having come very near them undiscover'd, pour'd in a Volley of Shot upon them ; and having put them into Confusion enough, he fac'd them, till his whole Body, Men, Women and Children, marcht off, without receiving any manner of damage, except a few Men wounded, but no body kill'd except the Governour's Horse.

This Surprize, and the Confusion was so great, that had the Governour's Design been only to Salley and to fight them, he had in all probability destroy'd the whole party. But as his design was to Sally and break through, 'twas not his business to fight, any more than was necessary to secure his passage, and to give all his people opportunity to go on, which he did effectually, and  
very

very Souldier like, retreating at last without the loss of a Man.

As soon as my Major found how it was, he concluded the Fort was deserted; as for the Seamen, they were in such a hurry and confusion, that they had not yet recovered themselves enough from the fright, to consider whether the Enemy was gone backward or forward.

But my Major presently apprehending how it was, march'd up to the Fort, and finding it Deserted, takes possession of it.

The Commodore by this time had recover'd himself, and finding that my Major would be in the Fort before him, and so he might be disappointed as to the Article of Plunder, sends a Message after him, to let him know that some Prisoners he had taken had inform'd him that the Fort was Undermin'd, and that if he went on he would certainly be blown up, and all his Men.

The Major halted a while upon this, but judging what he meant, at last he went on and took possession of the Fort. The Major, who knew the regulation of Plunder agreed on with the *Spaniards*, and settled by his Majesty in our Instructions, secur'd the Store-houses, the Governour's House, and all such places where any Goods of value lay, and keeping his Men to their Arms, suffer'd none of them to plunder any thing.

*Wilmot*, finding he was in possession, and with but a few Men, follow'd him with his Seamen to the number of 500 at least.

The Seamen, according to their laudable Custom, and the Instruction of the Commodore, sacrific'd all to Plunder ; and the Commodore coming up to Major *Lillingstone*, clapt him on the Shoulder, *Now Major*, says he, *I am stronger than you*: Hereupon they remov'd the Centinels he had set upon the Governour's Chambers and other places, and quitting all manner of Order, gave up the whole to a General Pillage, and with a Dexterity very natural to them, carried all away to their Ships.

The Major, finding how things went, sent to me to inform me of it, and desired me to come into the Fort, or else all would be in Confusion. I was far from being in a Condition to go, but finding how we were like to be used, caused my self, lying in my Hammock, to be carried by four men into the Fort.

But *Willmot* had done his work ; and as soon as he saw I was coming, he went to his Boats, and got on board the Ships, with all the Plunder they had got together, leaving a Guard of Men with one Captain *Hughes* in the Castle.

I call'd for the Officers of the Seamen that were left, and Captain *Hughes* came to me ; I askt him by whose Order he came



came there ? He told me, By the Commodore's: I Commanded him to draw off his men from the Castle ; he told me, Captain *Willmot* had posted him there, and till he Commanded him off he would not stir ; I Commanded him a second time, but he refused ; then I demanded an account of what Goods there was in the Room which he had the Guard of, which he also refus'd, and told me he would obey the Commodore's Orders, and none other ; I was inclin'd enough to have forc'd him to quit the Guard of the place, and had I been in health I believe I should have done it ; but being hardly able to speak, and the Kings Orders to me continuing to remind me, that his Majesty had promised to do me Justice at my return, I forbore ; and besides, being so weak that I was unfit to see my Orders executed, and rather expecting Death every hour than Life, I was altogether unfit to do my self Justice.

Thus the Commodore secur'd all the Plunder of the Fort, and Cheated both our own men and the *Spaniards* ; as for our men, he was so barbarous to them, that if any Officer or Souldier had got any thing from the Enemy, they would take it from the private men ; and for the other, he order'd all the Transport Ships to take nothing on Board ; in which Orders he took care to be so strict, that the Officers on board

the *George* refus'd my Trunk, Field-Bed, and other things, when I went back to the Ships.

As soon as this was done, tho all the men were exasperated to the last degree, yet I being exceeding low, my Major taken sick, and almost all our Officers, and abundance of Souldiers, we saw our selves reduc'd to a Condition not fit to do ourselves Justice, wherefore I order'd all our Cannon and Ammunition to be put on board the Boats again, in order to reimbark.

The *Spaniards* were employ'd in Demolishing the Fort, which they did effectually, pulling down or blowing up all the Works, Houses, Platforms and Batteries.

We took in this Fort and at Cape *Francois* 133 pieces of Cannon, whereof several were Brass, and the Iron were some of them the best that ever I saw : The Guns, Ammunition, and what was not portable by the Seamen were shar'd between the *Spaniards* and us ; and the very Stores of Sails, Cordage, Powder and Ball which remain'd for our parts, were not worth less than 1500*l.* and the Captain sold as many Negroes at *Jamaica* as he receiv'd 5000*l.* for.

I should have thought it were a particular piece of Justice to the Nation, if Mr *Burchet* would have told us in his History, how many of these Great Guns, and how  
much

much of these Stores were delivered by the Commodore or his Survivors into his Majesty's Stores, either at home or at *Jamaica*.

I take upon me to assure the World, that whereas by the Orders under his Majesty's Hand and Seal, and Copyed in the beginning of this account, all the Plunder was to be equally divided among us, I never yet heard of one shilling, or the value of it, receiv'd by any Souldier or Officer belonging to the Land Service.

'Tis true, being so very sick my self, and all my Officers also, Captain *Green* being the only sound man left; I was hereby hindred from knowing in particular what was done, and how things were dispos'd of: But I think I am within Compass, if I say the Plunder carried off by the Commodore amounted to above 25000 *l.* Sterling, and to make it out, I refer the Reader to an Affidavit made, and hereafter set down, where it appears the Commodore had Effects in his Ship of his own when he dyed to the value of 16 or 17000 *l.* which his Widow is now suing Captain *Buttler* for, tho to little purpose.

Nor is it to be supposed the *Spaniards* were any better pleased with the Commodore's proceedings, than I was, and tho they behav'd themselves with an unsual civility, yet they were very sensible of the abuse,

and therefore Complained of our breaking our Articles with them ; and this the Spanish General wrote to me in a long Letter in Spanish, which I have caused to be Translated into English, as follows.

Honoured Sir,

**T**He Enemy having left the Fort of Port de Paix the 14th day, I did solicit with the Admiral Robert Wilmot, to make a beginning in Demolishing and destroying the Walls that were left standing ; and the Overseer of these Forces made his Demand of Sharing the Guns, Powder and Shot that was found ; but neither the one nor the other was done, by reason that the said Admiral excused himself, saying that he would come to a meeting ; where, with his Assistance, as also yours and mine, and my Officers, we should discourse what should be done ; and he only sent his Commissary the 16th day of the month to your Tent, where I went with the Lieutenant and Major General of these my Forces, to see what Orders he brought ; and what I got for my going was the enjoying the heat of the Sun, for it was only concluded, that the 17th day in the morning we should meet at the Church standing near the Sea-side : Having appointed the hour of nine in the morning, I went myself, with the Officers and Captains of my Forces, where your Brother the Major General was, and one of the Captains of the Regiment :

And



*And being there, expecting the Admiral, only came his Commissary, and told us, that his Admiral bid him ask us, Whether we intended to go to Petit Guaves or not? And until we should tell him, he would not go to demolish the Fortifications. From whence it was resolved, that my Major General, Don Juan del Barranio, should go on board of the Admiral, to resolve and procure a beginning in Demolishing; as also your Brother's being one that should go on your side; who made answer, that it was impossible for him to go, by reason of your being indisposed; but that he would approve of all that my Major General should agree to: Whereupon my Major General and Overseer went to solicit for procuring a beginning in Demolishing, and also in Sharing of the Guns; and having been disputing the matter a great while with the Admiral, came back again with the same Proposal, for us to send him word in writing whether we intended for Petit Guaves, and then we should discourse of other matters; all the which, I think, is only to gain time for the Privateers of Jamaica to Plunder the Place, and carry off Negroes, as they have already done, in Quantities, keeping them in the Island of Tortugas, and on board of their Sloops; and for this reason we fail in fully accomplishing the Orders of our Masters the Kings; also he sent to me the 16th day by one Captain Don Richared, on the same account, to tell when I would go to Petit Guaves;*

Guaves ; the answer I gave him was, that I thought it would be impossible for my Forces, being ill and tir'd : Which Answer I thought fit to send him, for the many Reasons there are for not proceeding in the said Voyage, as you and your Regiment well knows ; for the publick Disorders of the people that the said Admiral hath under his care, as also the Jamaica Privateers ; it being one of the first things Capitulated on, that whatsoever Temple or Church we should come near, there should be a Guard set of each Nation, and that all that should be found in them should be viewed, and we should give the half in other Effects to the English Nation, and also that the first should not be molested ; and this Article was not only unobserved by the Officers and Souldiers of the Sea Forces and Jamaica Privateers ; but quite to the contrary, they destroying all the Images of the Churches of Port de Paix, dragging the Sacred Ornaments about, and putting them on their Bodies ; and the Ministers were molested by them, both by words and blows, as your Brother the Major General, being present, saw.

The other Article of Capitulation was, That wheresoever we should meet Store-houses or Riches, there should be set Guards of both Nations, to take Care of the same, that we might share whatsoever was found according to the People of each side ; and this, by reason of Disorder, fail'd much in the Observance, as  
you

you well know; for when we arrived at Port Francois, the people of the Sea Forces had plundered it of all before we came; and the 14th day, having entred the Fortification of Port de Paix, and put the Regiment of the Major General upon the Guard at the Magazine, came in the Seamen and Privateers, and carried away 10000 Pieces of Eight in Silver, and abundance of Cloaths and other things, and the said Major General nor any one else were not able to help it; and at Day break, having beat Travally, and intending to let fly the Royal Standard of the King my Master, they set upon it, and, had it not been wonderfully prevented, had killed Captain Don Joseph Correso, and his Ensign Manuel Kiminoz, that stood by it: And to prevail that this Rout should go on no further, I ordered my Major General to furl the said Standard, the which hath caused a great noise and alteration in the people of my Camp, and if my self and Officers had not taken a great deal of pains in quieting my people, they would have gone and taken satisfaction for the affront.

Another Article of the Capitulation was, that there should be a great Union and Unity betwixt the two Nations; and it is changed to great Disorder by the Officers and Souldiers of the English Fleet and Jamaica Privateers, as it is well known to you and all the Officers of your Regiment; for Captain Pedro de Chavarria having occasion, with some of  
the

the men of his Company to go to fetch some Meat towards the Barlevento, upon the Sea Coast, of two of his Souldiers that went before them upon Discovery, one of them was killed, and the other wounded by the Jamaica Privateers that were at a certain place, keeping a Guard on a considerable Parcel of Negroes: and afterwards some Souldiers of Captain Don Pedro Urtta Soli Comf. going to fetch Meat, one of the English Sea-Officers killed one of them, being at the same time keeping another parcel of Negroes: And on the 15th instant in the Afternoon in sight of the Castle they killed another Souldier, belonging to the Company of Captain Juan de Gosaran, as is well known to you, you having an English Prisoner that saw the Fact; and to prevent this going any further, I sent my Major General to the Castle to draw off the Guard, and to bring away the Royal Standard of the King my Master, which was done, but it being almost night there were left only ten Men that were sick, with their Arms, to retreat the next Morning; and that same Night they had their Musquets and Swords broke, and their Granadoes and Cloaths taken away, and were severely beaten, besides several other Injuries that were offer'd to them: and all this the Admiral is sensible of, and cannot deny; for in his Presence, an English Man gave a Spanish Souldier a Blow on the Face, and all for speaking a Word; from whence we infer that all which they did



was by his Consent ; and it is well known, that in the Castle he took hold of your own Brother the Major General, and told him, Now I am stronger than you : All which are things he neither should do himself, nor suffer to be done ; but as to what belongs to your particular part and mine, it hath been observed with all the good Policy that could be ; and although neither Obligations have invited me, nor hath it been so suitable to my Part in submitting to the Will and Pleasure of the Admiral for Meetings, and other his Desires, I have consented and done all his Pleasure from the first time of our Meeting at Paix ; and he having a mind to plant a Battery at a place to Leeward of the Castle, sent to me for some of my People to guard him ; I sent him some Officers, with 300 Men, the Flower of my Regiment, to be at his Order : And the good Correspondence I had for this, are all the abovesaid, as it is well known to you ; and that Night the Enemy left the Castle, instead of his coming to help me with the People I had lent him, who were a fighting, he took an Opportunity to enter and plunder the Castle. Such Deeds as these, and others well known to me and all my Regiment, he hath done to you, which do not suit with what our Masters the Kings concluded on, and ordered us to observe ; But of all I will on my part give an account to the King my Master, that he give notice of the same to the King of Great Britain, for him to remedy it ; for from these evil Proceedings

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ceedings may spring an Occasion for breaking the Peace, that is so much esteemed. All these things being as well known to yours, as to my Regiment, I thought fit with the Consent of my Officers, to make it publick to your Honour, whom I pray God keep for many Years. From this Camp the 18th of July 1695. I kiss your Honours's Hand.

To the Honourable  
General of His Majesty  
of Britain's Forces.

Hill. Correc̃te Catatan.

D. Ja. Demicesles Poufede  
lion de suen Mayor, &c.

I cannot deny but they had just reason to Complain, but I was unable now to speak or stir, and could neither redress the Complaint, nor answer the Letter.

And yet the Commodore was so far from answering the Spaniards just Demands, that he demanded 34 Negroes, which the Spaniards and my men had got, and would have taken them away by force; and told the Spanish Admiral, that if they were not deliver'd he would take him and his Ships away with him to *Jamaica*; of which the Admiral complain'd to me, but I was then so ill that I could scarce speak to him.

The 10th of July the Commodore sent away the *Experiment* to *Jamaica*, with Letters to Sir *William Beeston* the Governour; the said Governour had sent several Letters to me, and some Ships to our assistance,  
with

with orders to dispatch one of them back to him with an account of the posture of our affairs, and whether we wanted any assistance. I would have wrote an answer to them, and sent one of the Sloops back to him, but the Commodore would not let any go away, nor stir out of reach of his Shot: But now he sent away the *Experiment*, I not being in a condition to write to the Governour: With her he sent five Sloops laden with Plunder to *Jamaica*, among which was 330 Negroes.

By the *Spanish* Governours Letter, there was ten thousand pieces of Eight in Money, besides abundance of Wrought Plate, and the Negroes were, as I have observed, sold at *Jamaica* for 5000 l.

I was now in so weak a condition that no body expected my Life, the Doctor had ordered me to be carried on board, and by reason of this I can give but a general account of what was afterwards done, nor but an indifferent account of the Fort in the *Indies*.

Whatever it was, the *Spaniards* effectually demolished it, and destroyed all the Settlements of the *French*, who had here a very flourishing Plantation.

Whether the *French* have resettled there since the Peace, I cannot determine; but if they have, it must require a prodigious Expence, and several years time for them to re-

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recover this Colony, and bring it to the like Condition we found it in.

On the 15th of *July*, my Brother, Major *Lillingston* dyed, and several of the Officers of that Regiment were dead before, the Major was succeeded by Captain *Monjoy*, with whom I afterward left the Command of the Regiment.

On the 17th all the Troops and Artillery, Plunder and Prisoners being put on board, the Commodore weigh'd and set sail for *Jamaica*, where we arriv'd the 23d.

I leave any impartial person to judge of this Account in general, which is so related by our New Author, as a Design which miscarried, and that through the neglect of the Army.

If I may be allow'd to judge, we had a Regiment of very good men, and both Officers and Souldiers behav'd themselves so as no Collonel need be asham'd of Commanding them.

The Damage we have done the Enemy, and the Booty recovered from them, was not so inconsiderable as to be so meanly represented, for in sixty days time we ruin'd the Plantations for a hundred miles, we Demolished two Forts, we took Prisoners near a thousand Negroes, which every one knows are valued at 20 *l.* per Head. We took in the two Forts above 140 pieces of Cannon, with a great quantity of Ammunition



munition and Naval Stores, and the Seamen got Plunder to the value of 40000 *l.* at least. The Damage we did the Enemy will never be repaired with 200000 *l.* Sterling, besides time; and we Displanted a whole Colony, leaving the Enemy scatter'd about in Holes and Woods, and the *Spaniards* Masters of the whole.

I heartily wish every Squadron sent out of this Nation could honestly give as good an account of the success of their Voyage. If the Booty that was taken was never delivered where it should have been, if the King was cheated as well as we, I cannot answer for that, I heartily wish they were call'd to an account for it, who are able, and who ought to account for it.

I cannot but observe, that the Commodore had some Apprehensions that he might be call'd to account when he arriv'd in *England*, and therefore when he understood that I was so bad that there was small hopes of my Life, he sends three of his Captains to me, *viz.* Captain *Buttler*, afterwards Commodore, Captain *Fletcher*, and Captain *Moses*; they brought some Papers with them, they said from the Commodore, for me to sign. I refus'd to sign any; and if I would, I was not able to have taken a Pen into my Hand: They sat perswading me to sign them so long, till by their Disturbing me I grew Delirious and

Light-headed, and the Doctor thought I was Dying ; so they left me. The next day, hearing I was not dead, they came again : The Doctor would have hindred them coming into the Cabbin, telling them, 'Twas a barbarous thing they would not let me dye in quiet : But they forc'd their way in, and told him they must speak with me : So they came to my Bed-side, and sat an hour, perswading me to sign the Papers. I was very sensible, but unwilling to let them see it, and for the whole hour did not give them the least Reply, but made as if I knew them not : At last I rais'd my Head a little, and told them, *I wonder'd they could expect I should sign to their villanous Actions at my going out of the World ; but that if I dy'd, there would be some left to detect their Roguery, and bring them to answer it ; and so I turn'd my self from them, and they gave it over.*

When I said this I did not know my Brother was dead, for the people about me had conceal'd it from me ; when I had reviv'd again, I would fain have seen these Papers, but I could not obtain the sight of them, but no question it had been something to justify their proceedings, which my Brother being dead they might easily by rewards have got confirm'd, most of the Officers being very likely to dye also.

But

But the Justice of Providence overtook their wretched doings, and not many of the Authors of all these disorders liv'd to enjoy the fruits of their Rapine and Theft, Or I can call it no better.

Mr *Murray* the Commissary General, dy'd at *Jamaica*, Capt. *Wilmot* himself dy'd at Sea on their return home, Capt. *Hughes*, Commander of the *Ruby*, a principal Agent with *Wilmot*, was kill'd in a Duel with an Ensign at *Kingsale*, and Capt. *Lance* the Eldest Captain, who succeeded him as Commodore, enjoy'd it but three days, and the Successor took such care to serve him in the same kind, that his Widow, as I am inform'd, cannot to this day bring Capt. *Butler* to account for one farthing of all the Effects *Wilmot* left, tho several persons have proved an extraordinary value in Goods and Money of the Commodore *Wilmot's*, which came to his hands,

I have Transcrib'd one of the Affidavits, amongst 50 which I am told are Register'd in Chancery against Capt. *Butler*, in behalf of the Widow, not but that there are many of them as material, but I care not to crowd this Discourse with too many particulars, tho I question not but if ever this Cause goes on, and Captain *Butler* can be brought to answer, the Proverb may be verifi'd, that when some sort of People fall out, another sort hear of their losses.

The Affidavit is as follows.

Ruth Wilmot, Plaintiff.

Thomas Butler, Esq; Defendant.

**J**ONATHAN Brinley, late Seamen on board the Dunkirk, maketh Oath that in the Year 94 this Deponent sailed with Capt. Rob. Wilmot, in the Expedition to the West-Indies, and remained on board the Dunkirk, till the return of that Fleet to England, and saith that Commodore Wilmot in that Voyage did take a French Merchant-man and two Sloops, in which there were a great deal of Wine, Brandy, Salt, and other Commodities of great value, all or most of which were sold by the said Commodore at Port Royal in Jamaica for ready Money, which this Deponent carry'd on board the Dunkirk, by the order of Capt. Wilmot, and delivered the same to Mr Hickman and Mr Bridges, then Lieutenants on board; and this Deponent further saith, That the said Commodore, upon taking of Port de Paix and Cape Francois, did take a great deal of Plate, Indico, Wine, Brandy, Cocoa, several Brass Cannon and Pattereroes, and other valuable Goods, with about 54 Negroes, which were sold to the Spaniards and others, and the Money for the same was put on board the Dunkirk, as also the Money for the Ship and Sloops sold, and other Merchandizes, and was there at the death of



of Capt. Wilmot, and at Capt. Butler's coming on board to take Command of the said Ship; and this Deponent further saith, That after the Funeral of Capt. Wilmot, all his Chests, Trunks, Scrutore and Cabin were lockt or nailed up, till Capt. Butler commanded them to be broke open, and the Keys thereof taken from Lieutenant Styles, and took possession of the whole, not suffering any Officer on board to see what Effects were there, or take an Inventory thereof, or of the Goods or Stores on board, which did belong to Capt. Wilmot, which were of considerable value; for this Deponent saith, That the presents made the said Captain by the Spaniards and others, together with the Plate, Silver and Gold, Indico, Cocoa, and other Treasure and Merchandizes on board the said Ship, after Capt. Wilmot's death, were really worth to this Deponents Belief and Judgment, between sixteen and seventeen thousand pounds, all which came to the hands and disposal of Capt. Butler, as did also all the Apparel, Linnen and Woollen, of the said Capt. Wilmot. And this Deponent further saith, That he making Enquiry and Search in the Store-Room, after the Effects of Capt. Wilmot, did find a great quantity of Indico, Sugar and other Goods and Merchandizes missing, that did belong to Capt. Wilmot, which coming to the knowledge of Capt. Butler, he did send for this Deponent, and did then threaten this Deponent to run him through for taking notice thereof, and

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to put this Deponent in Irons, and to try him for his Life, and brought afterward a Bond or Obligation for this Deponent to sign and seal, never to make any any discovery of such his Imbezlement, to Capt. Wilmot's Widow or Relation; which this Deponent did refuse to sign and seal, whereupon Capt. Butler swore he would ruine this Deponent and his Family, and put this Deponent in Prison, and send this Deponent into some other Ship; or words to the same Effect.

Jonathan Brinley,  
Exam: 21. May 1627.

Jurat. 19. die Decemb.  
1696. Coram.

S. Keck.

I cannot omit the Copies of two Affidavits more taken in the same Cause, which are so extraordinary remarkable, that I think 'tis a piece of Service to the Publick, to let them see who are the People have been trusted with the Nations Service, and what usage may be expected from them by the Seamen, and what Service by the Publick, as follows.

Ruth Wilmott, Plaintiff.

Thomas Butler, Ar. Defendant.

**E**Dward Stone, Edward Milles and William Taylor, late Mariners on board his Majesty's Ship the Dunkirk maketh Oath, That the Defendant whilst he was Commander of his

his Majesty's late Ship the Winchester, which in her return to England was run on Shore in the Gulph, and left standing there, with two able Seamen on board, who hoisted the Jack on the Jack-staff for Relief, and Captain Butler saw the same, but refused to fetch them off, and they both perished there. And the said Defendant caused several dozen of Gags to be made, to torture and punish the Seamen with, and practised the same upon one or two of the Ships Company, which caused a great murmuring on board, the like never before had been done upon any of the Kings Ships of War that these Deponents ever heard of, and believe the Defendant would have continued that Punishment, but that he did fear that the Ships Company would Mutiny. And these Deponents do all of them say that the said Defendant caused some of the Ships Company to be whipt, and put into a half Butt full of Water, and order'd the Boatswain and his Mate to draw Water out of the Sea in Buckets, and gradually to drop or pour out the same upon the head of the party till he was almost stifled; and at other times the said Defendant Butler hath often caused several of the Ships Company to be hauled up, and tyed naked to the Capstern Bars, and receive Correction; tho the several persons, to these Deponents knowledge, lay at the point of Death, with Fluxes and other Distempers, and at the same time not able to go, and hardly able to stand, and several of them in a short

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*time dyed. The like Inhumanity and Cruelty these Deponents never heard or saw practised by any other Commander in the Kings service.*

Edward Mills.

Omnes Jurat 12 die  
Novembris 1697.

2 The mark of

Edward Stone.

2 The mark of

William Taylor.

S. Keck.

Ruth Wilmot, *Widow, Appellant.*  
Thoms Butler, Esq; *Defendant.*

**T** Thomas Stodden, of the Parish of Redriff, Chyrurgeon, maketh Oath, That about the month of May was twelve months, he this Deponent was in Company with Captain Myles, Captain Butler, and some others on board the Ship called the Jeffery, where this Deponent heard Captain Ayles question Captain Butler, what his Soul was made of, that he would endure such Usage and Affronts, as Commodore Wilmot had offered him, without resenting them, or in words to that effect; when Captain Butler presently reply'd and said, I will not now trouble my self about them; I can, said Captain Butler, dissemble with my God, and flatter with Men, and cheat the Devil for my own Ends  
and.



to the West-Indies.

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and Interest; and that man is a Fool that cannot or will not do so: Or words to that very effect.

Exam. June 14. 97. Jurat. 1. die Februarii  
Anno 169<sup>6</sup>. Coram

*Lacon* William Child.

If these two Affidavits are true, Mr *Burchet* has some very good reason to reflect a little who he had his accounts from, and if his Authors are such as will suit these Characters, I should hope he will be more wary how he takes things upon trust, whenever he thinks fit to write another History.

These things carry natural Observations in them, and therefore I shall forbear any further Remarks, and proceed.

We arriv'd at *Jamaica* the 23d of *July*. Mr *Brodrick*, Attorney General, hearing I was on board, and very ill, brought his Coach down to the Water-side, and came himself on board, and carryed me with him, put me into his Coach, and drove to *Spanish Town*. We stopt at the Governour's Door, and as well as I could, I saluted him, but was not able to speak two words, but was carried immediately to my Lodgings, where I continued very weak all *August* and part of *September*.

The

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The Commodore had his full swing here to do whatever he pleas'd, and rais'd great sums of Money from the Sale of his Plunder.

He had taken a *French* Prize too, which he sold here, but of that we did not expect any thing, considering how we were used in the rest. As soon as I had a little recovered my health, I began to enquire after things, and having particularly acquainted the Governour of *Jamaica* with the Commodore's proceedings, he advised me to take authentick proofs of his Conduct, while people were living that were Witnesses of it, in order to call him to an account when he came to *England*.

In doing this, the Governour himself was pleased to be assistant, and that meerly from an Honourable Design of detecting Villany, that such might no more be employed in the Service of their native Country.

In order to this, he caused the Papers of Commissary *Murrey*, who was lately dead, to be examined, and among them he found the Original Letters which are inserted in this very Account; and as the Governour could not but wonder to see them complaining, that we delayed to mount our Cannon, when by those Letters it appeared they had detain'd them on board, so out of a love to Truth, he did me the Honour voluntarily to sign the Copies of them, which

which I have now by me, and from which those Letters are now made publick.

And in order to a more full and authentick Declaration of the Truth of these particulars, he caused all the Captains of my Regiment (then left alive,) to be brought before him, and caused them to be interrogated to the Truth of several Particulars relating to these things upon Oath, and their Names set to every Article which they affirmed, and has himself witnessed the same, by which these Particulars are past all doubt confirm'd.

The Interrogatories are as follow.

1st, *If the 2d Night after Collonel Lillingstone landed with his Regiment near Cape Francois, the French did not blow up their Magazine, set some Houses on Fire, and so quit the Town, having five Miles to march the same way that we and the Spaniards marched the next day to the Town and Fort. This Article is true, attested by us H. Connigsby, Ja. Manjoy, Moses Leathes, John Wooley, Fra. Foulk, Sam. Tutchin.*

2dly, *If the Seamen had not plundered and taken all things that were to be got out of the Town, and retired all on aboard before the Army could get thither, so that when the Spaniards and Coll. Lillingston's Regiment came into the Town, they found the place plunder'd, and nothing left*

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left for them; (which Plunder could not be less worth than three thousand pounds) and the Commodore refused to give us any part of the same, which dissatisfied the Spaniards, and made Collonel Lillingston's Men ready to mutiny, seeing that all the Plunder was gotten by the Seamen. This Article is true, H. Connigsby, Ja. Manjoy, Moses Leathes, Fra. Foulk, John Wooley.

3dly, If the Commodore did not refuse to hold a Council of War on Shore. This Article is true, H. Connigsby, Ja. Manjoy, Moses Leathes.

4thly, If Captain Leathes, and Lieutenant Cunningham, who were ordered by Collonel Lillingston to march in the Van of the Spaniards, with a Party of the Collonel's Regiment, at their coming to the Fort at Cape Francois, found any Guard left by the Commodore at the Fort, except one Seaman with his Sword in his hand by the Flag. This Article is true, Moses Leathes.

5thly, If it is not known to Captain Manjoy, Captain Green, and Lieutenant Tutchin, that the Spaniards when they quartered in the Country, and Collonel Lillingston in Cape Francois, did not send to the Collonel to acquaint him that Laurence de Grave (who was Lieutenant Governour of the Cape) was marched towards Manchaneel Bay, where the Spaniards had left part of their Provisions and Baggage, and that they had sent a considerable

Party



Party of Men that way, and did desire that Collonel Lillingston would march as many more as he could spare to send them. This Article is true, Ja. Manjoy, Sam. Tutchin.

6thly, If it is known to Captain Manjoy, Captain Green, and Lieutenant Tutchin, that Collonel Lillingston, Captain Manjoy, and Captain Green, being all that commanded Companies then present at Cape Francois, after the Resolution of joyning the Spaniards according to their Request, did write a Letter to the Commodore signed by the Collonel and the two said Captains, desiring him that he would leave 2 or 3 of the Merchant-men, and a Frigot, some days at the Cape, that if we should meet with any Stop, or that we should find any sick Men with the 200 that were with Major Lillingston, having before joyned the Spaniards, we might not want their Assistance in case of a Retreat, or the conveniency of putting our sick Men on board, in case Necessity required. This Article is true, Ja. Manjoy, Sam. Tutchin. Captain Leathes delivered the Letter to Mr Murray, who told him afterward he had delivered the same to the Commodore, Moses Leathes.

7thly, If when we came where the Major quartered, we did not find thirty sick Men, or thereabouts, which we sent back the next day after leaving the Cape, but the Commodore was sail'd with the whole Fleet, not leaving one Ship behind. This Article is true, Moses Leathes.

8thly,

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8thly, *If all the Officers present do not know, that the Commodore would not allow Collonel Lillingston either a Barge, Pinnace or Yaul, to attend his Orders, the whole siege of Port de Paix. This Article is true, H. Connigsby, Fra. Foulk, Sam. Tutchin.*

9thly, *If Captain Leathes doth not know, that had not the Spanish Admiral taken in those Men we sent back at Cape Francois, and brought them up to the Fleet, and put them on board the Ship Captain Leathes was in, the Men had been left behind. This Article is true, Moses Leathes.*

10thly, *If when Major Lillingstone went first into the Fort at Port de Paix, with betwixt 2 and 300 Men before day, there were any of the Sea-Officers in the Fort or Castle with any Body of Men, except about fourteen or sixteen straggling Seamen, and if there were not some of the Sea Officers and Men standing without, and durst not enter in, for fear of blowing up. This Article is true, that there was no Sea-Officer in the Fort, nor Body of Men at the Gate of the Major's Entry, Jo. Warner, Fra. Foulk.*

11thly, *If Major Lillingston was not in the Fort, before the Commodore came with his Men. This Article is true, Jo. Warner, Fra. Foulk.*

12thly, *If the Commodore did not clap Major Lillingston on the Shoulder at Meeting, saying, Major, I am now stronger than you,*  
*and*

and so his Men fell to plundering the Castle, only one Chamber, which he ordered Captain Hughs to lock and set a Guard upon, and when Collonel Lillingston came into the Fort, the Commodore soon went on board, and altho' the Collonel commanded Captain Hughs to open the Chamber, and shew the Major what was in it, he said he would not do it without the Commodore's order; so that neither Officer nor Seaman were to be commanded. We heard the Major affirm this Article, Ja. Manjoy, Joh. Warner, Fra. Foulk.

13thly, If Major Connigsby, Lieutenant Foulk, Lieutenant Tutchin, and several more of the Officers do not know, that when Collonel Lillingston ordered the Cannon on Shore, that he had the four first Pieoes sent without Linch-Pins, and a wrong Carriage to one of the Cannon, pretending the Pins could not be found, so made the Collonel wait some days for them. This Article is true, H. Connigsby, Chr. Foulk, Sam. Tutchin.

14thly, If when the Collonel ordered a Mortar on Shore, there was not a wrong Bed sent, which also caused some days delay. This Article is true, H. Connigsby, Fra. Foulk, Sam. Tutchin.

15thly, If we were not without any Boat, sometimes two or three days together, whatever urgent occasion we had for one, and Lieutenant Foulk, and Lieutenant Cunningham, were forced to go round for want of a Boat. This

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*Article is true, That Lieutenant Foulk, and Lieutenant Cunnigham were forc'd to go round where the Ships lay, for want of a Boat to go the nearest way, and Lieutenant Foulk was forced to pay for a Boat to carry him on board, Fra. Foulk.*

16thly, *If the Commissary ever came into the Camp, when we lay near the Town, during the Time of the whole Siege, but did before desire, that the Collonel would give him a general order to deliver to Captain Lilly whatever he should stand in need of, which to prevent Delays, the Collonel did, and after, when the Commissary was on board the Ships, he would not take notice of Captain Lilly's Orders, except in what pleased himself; which was likewise a delaying of Time. This Article is true, Chr. Lilly, Sam. Tutchin.*

17thly, *If Captain Lilly, chief Engineer, and the Gunners, or any belonging to the Train, are not of Opinion, that the Battery raised by the Seamen was of no consequence, or any assistance to us; and that when it was first made, the Shot went through, and killed and wounded several of their Officers and Men, and that if they had made a Breach, it was in such a place, that they could not make any attack, and several of their Shot missed both the Fort and Castle, and came by our Camp. This Article is true so far, That if the Commadore had made a Breach, they could have made no Attempt. Captain Lilly did avouch the above said*



bovesaid to be true, but refused to sign the same, fearing to create Enemies, *Samuel Tutchin.*

*Jamaica ss.* I do hereby certify, that on the 16th day of *August*, 1695, personally appeared before me all those Officers of Collonel *Lillingston's* Regiment, that have set their hands to the several places in this Paper, and did then take the Oaths appointed by Act of Parliament, to be taken in the room of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and did also declare and sign the Test, and did likewise declare upon their Corporal Oaths duly taken, that these several Articles, against which they have set their Hands, were true to their Knowledge.

*Wm Beeston.*

Some further Interrogatories sworn to, before Sir *William Beeston.*

*If it be known to any of the Officers of Collonel Lillingston's Regiment, to Captain Lilly, any of the Bombardiers, Gunners, &c. that Collonel Lillingston was in any respect neglectful, in hastning the Guns and Mortars to be placed on the Batteries, with all possible Diligence; or if there was any Neglect in the Collonel, during the whole Siege, but that on the contrary, he hastned every thing as much as in him lay, and during the whole time of our Proceeding used his utmost Endeavours to quicken the Dispatch of all Business,*

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*siness, that any ways tended to the Promotion of his Majesty's Interest, and the Furtherance of our Designs against the Enemy. This Article is true, H. Connigsby, Ja. Manjoy, John Warner, Moses Leathes, Fra. Foulk, John Wooly.*

*If Serjeant Coucher, and Corporal Welch, both belonging to Captain Manjoy's Company, do not know that the Commodore did in the Fort of Port de Paix, take away a Piece of Stuff from the said Corporal, and the Corporal calling to the Serjeant, made his Complaint to him, that a Gentleman had taken away his Piece of Stuff, the Serjeant nor Corporal knowing the Commodore, the Serjeant desired him not to take away the Stuff; upon which the Commodore ask'd him, who he was? he answered, The Serjeant of the Guard, the Commodore reply'd, Shoot the Dog, and further, That if he would not be quiet he would fetch his Men and murder them all. This Article is true, George Coucher, John Welch.*

*If it is not known to the Officers in general, that altho Collonel Lillingston desired and required assistance of the Commodore, according to his Majesty's Instructions, he not only refused to assist us in getting of Guns and Mortars, but during the whole time of our Proceedings acted by himself separate from us. This Article is true, H. Connigsby, Sam. Tutchin. We are sensible that the Commodore acted separate from us, John Warner, Fra. Foulk, John Wooly. Ja.*

*Jamaica ss.* I do hereby certify, that on the 16th day of *August*, 1695, personally appeared before me, all those Officers of Colonel *Lillingston's* Regiment, &c. [as before] and did likewise declare upon their corporal Oaths, duly taken, that the several Articles, against which they have set their hands, were true to their Knowledge.

*William Beeston.*

These Interrogatories were taken, as you see, before Sir *William Beeston*, who began plainly to discover the foul play that had been shown us, and did it as a meer Friend to Truth, and he was willing his Majesty should see how ill he was treated by his Officers, whom he trusted on such important Affairs.

I continued in *Jamaica* very weak, all the Month of *August* and *September*, which time the Commodore spent in selling his ill gotten goods, and vesting the Effects in Merchandizes for *England*, and taking in Goods privately, on the back of the Island.

My Men were also very sickly, and I am of opinion, that after the Fatigue they had in the Siege had weakned them, the Sea and the Heats of the Weather had a worse effect on them than before ; for I lost above 200 Men between the time that we sail'd from *Hispaniola*, and a week being on shore at *Jamaica*.

I had a great many reflections made upon me for the death of my men, as if the severity of their March was the cause, and many odd stories about it. 'Tis true, it was a cruel March, and some of our Men, not able to hold it, fell sick, and some few dyed. But I was oblig'd to do the Duty of my Command: If I had not March'd by Land the Expedition had been at an end, for the *Spaniards* did not suppose themselves strong enough to have gone by themselves; nor indeed were not: and when the whole Expedition depended on the Service, I never understood, it was the Duty of a Souldier to dispute the hazard of a March, or any thing else that the Publick Service requir'd. But after all, 'tis plain by the consequence of things, that this was not the cause, for of 160 men which I left on board the Fleet, there dyed more during the time of theis March, as I have already noted, than of the whole Body I had with me.

And this short Story following will make the matter yet plainer, that the harassing my Men about the Guns and Stores, as aforesaid, was the Cause: For by the following List 'twill appear, that of 26 Gunners and Firemen, and other Officers, who went with the Train, 23 dyed in this Expedition, tho' not one of them was with me in the March of the Army, nor one of them kill'd by the Enemy. A



A List of the Officers belonging to the  
Train of Artillery, which dyed upon  
the Expedition.

	1694
Henry Brase, Fireworker, dyed February	14
William Hewson, Bombardier, dyed Dec.	21
Samuel Crouch, Carpenter, dyed March	4
George Coleman, Carpenter, dyed April	11
	1695
Thomas Brosone, Bombardier, dyed Dec.	28
James Boucher, Gunner, dyed July	1
John Hutchingson, Gunner, dyed Dec.	12
Charles Tisdale, Gunner, dyed Dec.	14
Benjamin Ridley, Gunner, dyed Dec.	15
John Trice, Gunner, dyed Dec.	21
William Deane, Gunner, dyed Dec.	27
William Adams, Bombardier, dyed Dec.	27
Edward Deane, Gunner, dyed Aug.	2
John Fleming, Gunner, dyed Dec.	4
William Harris, Bombardier, dyed Dec.	8
Morris Davis, Bombardier, dyed Dec.	24
Nathaniel Coker, Surgeon, dyed Dec.	25
George Oburn, Carpenter, dyed Dec.	29
John Palmer, Master Gunner's Mate, dyed	September 8
Roger Chapman, Bombardier, dyed Dec.	20
Samuel Green, Carpenter, dyed Octob.	19
Edmund Southwel, Master Gun-	} about the beginning of Octob.
ner dyed,	
Roger Laike, Gunner, dyed	

This is the trueſt account that can be given, and agrees with the Commiſſary's Account.

This Liſt contains all the men belonging to the Train, except four or five at moſt; and this Mortality could not be occaſion'd by the March, for not one of them was with us; but the heats of the Climate, the fatigue of the Siege, and perhaps not a little the Intemperance of the men, occaſion'd this loſs, as it generally does in thoſe parts of the World.

In this ſickly condition our Men continued at *Jamaica*, and dyed very faſt. The Governour took all the Care of them he could, and Apothecaries and Surgeons were appointed to look to them, but they having no ſettl'd Method there for quartering Souldiers, the men were crouded forty or fifty into an empty houſe, and Women ſet to tend them; but no Beds or Lodging but on the Ground; ſo that the Men dyed apace: And when it was propoſed in a Council of War at *Jamaica*, whether any farther Attempt ſhould be made on the Enemy, it appeared we were not in a Condition for it neither by Land or Sea.

The A& of the ſaid Council of War, was as follows.

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At a Council of War holden in the  
Town of *St Jago de la Veja*, in the  
Island of *Jamaica*, on Monday the  
twenty ninth day of *July*, 1695.

Present

The Right Honourable Sir *William Beeston*,  
His Majesty's Lieutenant General, and  
Commander in Chief, President.

Sea Officers.

*Robert Wilmot*, Commodore.

Captain *James Lance*.

Captain *John Moses*.

Land Officers.

Collonel *Luke Lillingston*.

Collonel *John Bourden*.

Collonel *Nicholas Lawe*.

Collonel *Peter Heywood*.

Collonel *Richard Loyd*.

Lieutenant Coll. *William Brodrick*.

Captain *James Manjoy*.

Captain *Moses Leathes*.

**T**He President communicated to the Board, That he had called this Council of War, pursuant to the Kings Instructions, and did then recommend to their Consideration, what was further to be done for his Majesty's Security against the Enemy.

The Commodore declared, that if Men could be raised in the Island, to make a further Attempt on the Enemy, and could be rais'd in a fortnights time, or something more, he would convoy them up, but could land no Seamen to assist them.

He also declared, that by Prisoners he had lately taken, he was assured Monsieur du Cass was well intrenched, with at least twelve hundred white, and one thousand black Men: On which it fell under consideration, how many men ought to be raised to attempt such a Force. It was concluded, if we could raise a thousand men, it would be too few, since Collonel Lillingston's men were all sickly, weak and disabled, till they were considerably recovered. It was also considered, that it was uncertain, whether we could raise a thousand men or not. But if we could and should, by the Enemy or Sickness, lose a considerable number, it might hazard the Island, by exposing it to the Insults of the Enemy.

On which it was concluded, that considering the hazard would be great, and the time of year also sickly, and unfit for such an Attempt,

it



it would be better to defer it to some more favourable Opportunity, and that therefore the Transport Ships be discharged out of His Majesty's Pay.

And that since the Island is not in a condition at present to raise sufficient force to go against the Enemy, it's the opinion of this Council of War, That the Commodore, leaving three Frigots for a Guard to the Island, proceed with the rest of his Squadron, according to his Majesty's further Order.

Ordered, That the French Souldiers, taken Prisoners, and brought down in the Fleet, be sent for Europe, as opportunity presents.

Ordered, That the Victualling Stores be sold by the Commissary.

Upon Reading a Petition of four of the Chyrurgeons belonging to the Transport Ships, desiring a Reward for their Care, Trouble and Expence of their Medicines in looking after the Souldiers; Ordered, That John Murray, Esq; Commissary, pay out of the contingent Money, or other Moneys in his hands, to the said Petitioners the sum of sixty pounds.

Ordered, That the Artillery, and Stores of War, be landed and delivered to such person as the General shall appoint, and that the Medicines be landed and surveyed at their coming on Shore.

William Beeston.

Robert Wilmot.

James Launce.

John Moses.

Luke

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Luke Lillingston.  
John Bourden.  
Nicholas Lawe.  
Peter Heywood.

} Richard Lloyd.  
} William Brodrick,  
} James Manjoy.  
} Moses Leathes.

*Vera Copia*

*Edward Broughton,*  
Secretary of the Island.

Upon this Resolution the Commodore departed for *England*, but Dyed by the way ; and Captain *Lance* as Eldest Captain, became Commodore, who held it but three days, and then he Dyed, and the Command of the Squadron fell to Captain *Buttler* : And as the way Captain *Wilmot* got what he had on board was both Violent and Fraudulent, so by the same methods, as I am inform'd, Captain *Buttler* seized upon all his Ill-gotten Goods to his own use ; and the Widow of Captain *Wilmot* has in vain to this day sued for an Account of the Value of the Goods : And the Method of *Buttler's* Management to conceal them, the Affidavits hereto annexed in part discover ; but if ever *Buttler* be brought to a fair hearing, there may be a Discovery of many useful circumstances for the publick benefit.

It would also be a most diverting thing, abating for the Disaster of it, and the Lives lost in it, to hear a true particular of the Loss of the *Winchester* Man of War. If

If I am not misinform'd, there would come to light a great many hidden Circumstances, very useful to the Nation in general, if the loss of that Man of War were enquir'd into ; if due Examination were made whether all the Stores and Guns that were pretended to be in her were really on board her ; and if the loss of that Ship did not serve for a colour to pretend the loss of many things, which were otherwise dispos'd of.

If, *I say*, these things were duly represented by those whose business it is, I believe it might be easie to see the true cause why this as well as other Voyages have been made so little to the publick advantage.

For this Voyage, I think I may very safely say, that the Commodore had very little hand in any of that part which had success ; nor was he pleas'd with the Success we had any farther than he made it his own advantage ; and this appears from the Discovery made afterwards of a Design, which, had he had Courage to have executed, he had effectually secur'd all to himself.

When he found that I assum'd the absolute Command of the Land men, and took all the conduct of affairs on shore upon my self, and would not comply with him in his Villainous Proposal, supposing all the  
Plunder

Plunder would fall into our hands, he comes on shore one day, with as many Officers of his Ships as we were Officers on shore; and having concerted it before, they were to make a quarrel with us, and every man was to single out his man and to fight us, not doubting, it seems, that they were able to master us:

Accordingly they came on shore, and had opportunity enough, for we were all together, and the Commodore and I had words proper enough to have made an occasion; but it seems his Courage fail'd him, and he could not find in his heart to give the Signal, as they had agreed. At last, Captain *Moses*, one of the Sea Captains, and, in my opinion, the only man of Courage among them, singles out one of my Captains, viz. Captain *Manjoy*, afterwards Major; and beckoning him to follow him a little from the company, bid him Draw. Captain *Manjoy* knew nothing of the matter, nor could he imagine what he had done to Captain *Moses*; but as he is a Gentleman that was never backward of his Sword, he immediately Drew, and some Passes being exchang'd on both sides, Capt. *Moses*, who expected the Commodore had done the same by me, and seeing no motion that way, seem'd very much disappointed, and presently gave it over. We never knew the Mystery of this till some months after,



after, when at *Jamaica*, Captain *Moses* very friendlyly acquainted Captain *Manjoy*, then Major, of the whole matter, as here related, and the said Major is ready to testifie the Truth of it.

I stay'd in *Jamaica* till by sickness, the Regiment was reduc'd to a very weak condition, being only three Companies left, and they so thinly mann'd, that they were afterward reduc'd to one Company of 200 Men, commanded by Major *Manjoy*; and after that, for want of Recruits, they all dyed, or left the Service, and so the Regiment quite fail'd.

The Governour, seeing the condition of the Regiment, propos'd to me to go to *England*, and to sollicit his Majesty for Recruits for the Regiment, in order to supply the Island for its necessary Defence.

I was not unwilling to undertake the Voyage, but having been sensible that the reason of the loss of so many men was for want of due Care taken in quartering and lodging them, I made an offer to go, on condition some Care might be taken on that Head, and their Assembly or Parliament being at hand, I sent the Governour the following Letter.

*A Copy of Collonel Lillingston's Letter to Sir William Beeston.*

Honourable Sir,

**B**Eing you have thought it for the Advantage of his Majesty's service, and for the safety of this Island, that I should go for England to solicit for Recruits to fill up my Regiment, I am satisfied to undertake any thing which may tend to the good of the Service, and the preservation of this Island; but I have one request before I can undertake to bring any more men into those parts, that you and the Assembly of this Island will pass some Act for the better Reception and Quartering of such men as shall be sent, or arrive here with me; so that they may not be thrust 20 or 30 Men into an empty House, and no Beds nor any Conveniency for their lying on, as was done at my first arrival here with my Regiment; which was the occasion of the loss of a great many of my men; so that if you please to provide by some Law, for the better quartering for such men as shall come, that I may be satisfied, that they shall be taken care of; for I do think, that as I shall be the occasion of bringing men over under my Command, I am as much obliged as a Father is to take care of his Children, so I am to take care of such men as shall come with me; so I desire, that you will be pleased to take it into  
your

to the West-Indies. 159

*your serious Consideration, that I may be sure,  
that they shall be very well provided for against  
their coming, which will very much encourage  
me to proceed with all imaginable Care and  
Speed, to procure what men I can, for the Safe-  
ty of this Island. I am*

Honourable Sir,

Spanish Town,  
Nov. 5. 1695.

Your Most Humble Servant.

To Sir William Beeston, Kt.  
Lient. Governour, &c.

Upon the receipt of this Letter, the following proceedings were had in their Assembly, which I have thought may be useful to be made publick, for the Encouragement of all such Souldiers as shall venture to list in the service of the Government in these dangerous Climates; assuring them, that since this Act of their Assembly, or General Council, the Souldiers that go from hence are well quartered and provided for, and do not Dye so fast as they formerly did by a great deal.

The Proceedings in the Assembly were as follow.

Ja-

*Jamaica* ss. At a Council held at *St Jago de la Veja*, on *Wednesday, Dec. 4. 1695.*

Present

The Right Honourable the Governour in Council.

**T**He Assembly being met, and having desired to be Prorogu'd or Adjourn'd to some longer time, the Governour sent to command the Speaker and whole House to attend him immediately.

The Speaker and House attending accordingly, the Governour and Council earnestly recommended to them, that before they were prorogued, they would, for the satisfaction of Coll. Lillingston, and better encouragement for Souldiers, to come hither for the safeguard of the Island, make an Act for Quartering such Souldiers as should come, in case Collonel Lillingston should get Recruits for his Regiment, for which he is going to solicit in England.

Upon which they withdrew.

And presently after sent Michael Houldsworth, Esq; one of their Members, with a Message, that Mr Speaker and the House desired again to attend the Governour.

Which the Governour consented to.

And they attending accordingly, the Speaker acquainted the Governour, that the House, for the



*the reasons above chearfully and readily passed the following Vote.*

Die Mercurii Dec. 4. 1695.

*Coll. Luke Lillingston being bound home for England, to procure Recruits for his Regiment, Resolved Nemine Contradicente, That this House will provide by a Law for their reception and accommodation.*

Vera Copia.

*Tho. Nicholls, Cl. Concil.*

And for the further satisfaction of all Souldiers designing for this Service, here follows the Act itself at large.

*An Act for Quartering the King's Souldiers.*

**W**E, Your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, The Assembly of this your Island of *Jamaica*, Having taken into our Serious Consideration your Majesty's Care and great Bounty, in sending us Seasonable Aids of Men, Money, and Ships of War, to render the Inhabitants of this your Colony secure from the Insults of your Enemies; and being willing to show how truly sensible we are of these your Majesty's Royal Favours, by taking care for the Accommodation of such Additional Forces as may at any time during this War be sent hither, that thereby they may be rendred more serviceable,

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to

to defend your Majesty's Honour and Interest in these parts, by being preserved from such Inconveniencies as New-comers hither are incident to, if due Care be not taken to prevent the same ; Do most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty, That it may be Enacted, And be it Enacted by your Majesty's Lieutenant Governour, Council and Assembly ; And it is hereby Enacted and Ordained, by the Authority of the same, That all Souldiers, which already are or shall be transported to this Island, for the Security and Defence thereof, shall be quartered upon and provided for by the Inhabitants, in all or any the respective Parishes, as the Governour or Commander in Chief, for the time being, shall see meet and convenient.

And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That the Justices of the Peace, at the Towns of *St Jago de la Veija*, *Port Royal* and *Kingston*, or the major part of the Justices of the said Parishes, are hereby required and impower'd to quarter and billet such Souldiers as are to be quartered and billeted upon the Inhabitants of the said Towns, according to the discretion of the said Justices, or the major part of them, and in all Parishes within this Island, the Justices, or the major part of them, are hereby impowered and required to quarter and billet such Souldiers as are in the said Parish or Parishes to be quartered or billeted

ed upon the Inhabitants thereof, by an equal and just Proportion upon every Master or Mistress, Owner or Owners of Slaves or Penns of Cattel. Provided no more shall be imposed upon any Master, Mistress or Owner, than shall make up the Number of White Servants, such Master, Mistress or Owner ought to keep in his, her or their Plantation, or at his, her or their Penn or Penns of Cattel, in such proportion to the number of Slaves or Cattle, as is limited and appointed, by an Act of this Island, Entitul'd, An Act for Regulating Servants.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That after the Number of Souldiers appointed, that shall be billeted upon each of the Inhabitants within the said Parish or Precinct, the name of each Inhabitant shall be written in a several Lot or Label of Paper, as often as the number of Persons to be quartered on him or her requires. Which said Lot or Label shall be fairly and indifferently drawn by each respective Souldier, so to be quartered. And the said Lot or Label so drawn, shall be by Order of the said Justices immediately entred in the Vestry-Book of the said Parish, which the said Justices are hereby required to cause to be done; as also the name of the Party drawing: And the said Lot or Lots so entred, shall be a sufficient Billet on the Party drawn.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Souldiers quartered upon the severall and respective Inhabitants, as aforesaid, shall be provided for by them at the proper Costs and Charges of the severall persons, on whom they be billeted, with wholesome and convenient Meat, Drink, Washing and Lodging; that is to say, every Souldier one pound of good Flesh or Fish ready drest every day, two days allowance in each week to be of fresh Meat, if to be procur'd, together with Plantation Provision proportionable thereunto, and one point of Rum, and half a pound of Sugar every three days, also warm House-room and convenient Lodging, namely, a good Hammock or Plantane bed, covered with Ozemrigs with a convenient covering thereto belonging.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That whatsoever Justice within any of the Parishes or Precincts within this Island, shall refuse or neglect to do the duty, shall for every such neglect or refusal forfeit respectively ten pounds currant Money of this Island; and if any person upon whom any Souldier is billeted, as aforesaid, shall upon any pretence whatsoever refuse to receive and entertain the said Souldier or Souldiers, or having received him or them, shall not provide for the said person or persons in all respects as in and by this Act is directed and required, shall for every such  
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Offence forfeit the summ of forty shillings current Money, to be recovered before any Justice of the Peace, and paid into the hands of the Church-wardens for the use of the Parish, where such Offence shall be committed.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Officer, either Military or Civil, nor any other person whatsoever, shall from henceforth presume to place, quarter or billet any Souldier or Souldiers, other than the present Militia of this Island, upon any Subject or Inhabitant thereof, of any Degree, Quality or Profession whatsoever, otherwise than in this Act is prescribed, without his or their consent, under the Penalty of one hundred pounds current Money of this Island, and that it shall and may be lawful for every such Subject or Inhabitant to refuse to sojourn, or quarter any Souldier or Souldiers, billeted in any other manner than as before in this Act is directed, notwithstanding any Command, Order, Warrant or Billeting whatsoever.

And in regard nothing is more likely to prove fatal to Men, unseasoned to the Country, than marching on foot upon their first Arrival; Be it therefore Enacted and Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for any Justice of the Peace, within the respective Parishes in

this Island, to issue forth his Warrant to the Constable or Constables of the said Parish; thereby requiring him or them to impress Horses, Mules, Wains, Cattel, Boats, Canoes, or any other Conveniencies whatsoever, for the more speedy and safe conveyance of the Souldiers to be quartered, as aforesaid, immediately after their first Arrival (and not otherwise) to their respective Quarters.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all Fines, Forfeitures and Penalties mentioned in this Act, and not already applyed, shall be one Moyety thereof unto his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, for and towards the Support of the Government of this Island, and the contingent charges thereof, and the other Moyety to the Informer, or him or them that shall Sue for the same in any Court of Record within this Island, wherein no Essoign, Protection, Priviledge, Wager of Law, or *Non vult ulterius prosequi* shall be allowed.

And be it so enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That this Act shall continue, and be in force during this present War with France, and no longer.

*Past the Council,* Tho. Nichols, *Cl. Concil.*

*I Consent,* William Beeston.

*Past the Assembly,* James Bradshaw, *Speaker.*

I have often wondred why Mr *Burchet* had not a sight of the accounts I sent from *Jamaica* of this affair to the Government, which were sent to Mr *Blaithwait*, his Majesty's Secretary of War; and are, no question, to be found in the Office; among which are the accounts I receiv'd from Sir *William Beeston*, the Governour of *Jamaica*, of what Stores and Ammunition, or Great Guns, were deliver'd there by the Commodore for the use of the Island. For, being design'd for *England*, as is noted already, I sent the following Letter to the Governour.

S I R,

**W** Hereas I must expect to give his Majesty, and the Board of Ordnance, the best Account that I can of the Cannon and Ammunition, &c. that was taken from the French at *Cape Francois*, and *Port de Paix*; and I having been acquainted that the Commodore, or some of the Captains of the Kings Men of War, sold some Cannon to Collonel *Knights*, and to Mr *Hobye* at the *Poynt*; and some more Cannon being since offer'd to be sold, I humbly desire of your Honour, that there

may be strict Enquiry made into this Affair, both for his Majesty's Rights, and my Justification; and that the present Commissary may look into the Books and Papers of Mr Murray, to see what Ships the Cannon that was taken was put on board of; and also the Ammunition that was taken from the Enemy, and to see for the Acquittances for what Powder and Ball was delivered out of the Stores for my Regiment, during that Voyage; and that I may have the viewing, with the Commissary, the Books and Papers of Mr Murray, to see what else may be convenient for me to take along with me for England; and what may be found in Mr Murray's Books or Papers, relating to this or the like; that the Commissary may draw it out in short, and attest it, that he drew it out of Mr Murray's Writings. I desire this favour of your Honour; in which you will oblige

Your Honour's  
Most Faithful Humble Servant,

Spanish Town,  
Nov. 13. 1695.

L. L.

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What account of these things were deliver'd I cannot recollect, but it has not since been examin'd into.

Nor can I omit here one piece of unmanly Cruelty the Commodore was guilty of, which, I think, is a Disgrace to our Nation; I shall give the due Censure to it, and clear my Native Country, by declaring that I never saw an *English* man before guilty of so much inhumane barbarity.

When *Wilmot's* men entred the Fort, and committed all to a general Pillage, as I have observ'd, there was found in the Fort several Prisoners of Quality, as an Uncle to Monsieur *Du Cass* the Governour, Captain *Pelletier* and one of their Surgeons. The Captain was very much wounded, and being on board the Commodore's Ship, *Wilmot* would not give them any Victuals for three days, nor suffer his Wounds to be Dressed; the *French* Captain, prest by his Hunger, came upon the Deck the third day, and made signs to *Wilmot* for food, putting his Finger to his Mouth; but *Wilmot* taking no notice of him, the Captain pull'd him by the Flap of his Coat, calling him *My Lord*, saying, *Mange, Mange, my Lord*; at which *Wilmot*, seeing all the people about him mov'd with Compassion, calling to one of the Officers, said, *Give the French Dog some Meat.*

This

This Captain was a very Civil Gentleman, and had behav'd himself very well in Defence of the Fort ; but being wounded, could not make his Retreat with the rest, and having accepted Quarter, ought in Justice to have been us'd with more Humanity, forasmuch as the Lieutenant Governor of the Fort, when at Cape *Francois*, he fell in with the Sea-men, and routed them, and took several Prisoners, among which were 2 Voluntiers, after he had kept them five or six days, and treated them very handsomely, he sent them back to the Commodore without Ransome, and with a Compliment, desiring that if any of the *French* should fall into their hands, they would use them civilly.

The particular of his Usage aforesaid, the Captain testified to me in *Jamaica*, in the hearing of several Officers and Merchants of *Port Royal*.

On the 6th of *January* I took Shipping for *England*, and arriv'd at *London* on the 25th of *March* and waited on his Majesty, to give him a particular of all these matters ; but his Majesty having been abus'd with wrong Information, seem'd to receive me with some Dissatisfaction ; at which being extraordinarily concern'd, I strove to undeceive his Majesty, and that with such success, as, I thank God, I had the Satisfaction to convince his Majesty of my faithful Ob-  
servance

servance of his Commands: And this being afterwards confirmed by the Accounts given to his Majesty by the *Spanish* Ambassadour, the King was made so sensible of the Injury I had receiv'd, that he was pleas'd to promise me his special Regard, and till something should present to employ me, ordered me 200 *l. per Annum* among the rest of the Officers; which her Majesty has the Bounty and Goodness still to continue.

And thus ended this unhappy Voyage, made so by the Treachery and Coverousness of the Sea-Officers, but particularly of the Commodore, who having his private Interest only in his Eye, regarded neither his Commission, his Instructions, the Rules of War, and Law of Arms, the Square of Division: Nor indeed did he keep any Measures, but such as were the Dictates of his Avarice and Pride.

How Mr *Burchet* came by his Account, how he came to give it any Credit, and how so much Credit as to abuse all the rest of the People concerned in it, are Questions he would do well to answer, before he can obtain the Reputation of an impartial and careful Historian.

F I N I S.



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